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**RAMMOHUN ROY**  
**AND**  
**AMERICA**

*By*

**ADRIENNE MOORE**

*Columbia University,*  
*U. S. A.*

**C A L C U T T A**

**1942**

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## INTRODUCTION

*By*

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

*Srijut Satis Chandra Chakravarti first drew my attention to a thesis on Rammohun Roy written by Miss Adrienne Moore for the degree of Master of Arts in Columbia University. The first part of this work I published in "The Modern Review" for September and October, 1936. I am indeed gratified to see that at last this valuable and scholarly contribution to our knowledge of Rammohun Roy and his far-reaching influence is to be presented to the Indian public by Srijut Satis Chandra Chakravarti, President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.*

*Miss Moore obtained her degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Philosophy at Columbia University in 1935. Previous to that she had graduated from Occidental College in Los Angeles in 1932 where she specialized in English. Here she won the coveted American academic distinction of being awarded a Phi Beta Kappa Key. Miss Moore became interested in Indian life and culture while still in college, and in 1940 she fulfilled her long-cherished desire of visiting this country. She has been here since, studying Indian social, educational and economic problems.*

*I considered it a privilege to have been allowed to publish a part of Miss Moore's thesis in "The Modern Review". I am glad the entire thesis now appears in book form. I have every hope Miss Moore will find a fit audience.*

Calcutta,  
March 22, 1942.

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

I first became acquainted with Miss Adrienne Moore in 1934 in connection with her inquiries regarding Rammohun Roy. At that time I was engaged, in my capacity of Honorary Joint Secretary of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, in the compilation of the Centenary Commemoration Volume : *The Father of Modern India*. I was deeply interested to learn that research on Rammohun Roy was being carried on in the United States and in such a thorough manner. I was able to append a footnote regarding Miss Moore's work in the Commemoration Volume just before its publication.

I arranged for the publication of a part of this valuable work in *The Modern Review* shortly after its completion. It was not, however, found practicable to publish it in its entirety with the appendices and bibliography, which are the most valuable part of the work. It is now being published in its complete form. We are all very thankful to Miss Moore for bringing together with such care so much new information about Rammohun Roy.

Miss Moore is now in India and we are glad that the book has come out during her stay here and under her personal guidance.

The book is published at the instance of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. The expenses of publication have been partially met out of the funds of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee placed at my disposal. My only regret is that owing to continuous ill health it has not been possible for me to publish it, as contemplated, much earlier and place it in the hands of the many admirers of Rammohun Roy at home and abroad.

Sadharan Brahmo Samaj,  
211, Cornwallis Street,  
CALCUTTA  
April 2, 1942,

SATIS CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

## AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

The story of this thesis is an adventure in research, an exploration accompanied by a century of dust, musty files, family attics and memories long forgotten. It was prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of English and Comparative Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University.

One afternoon Dr. Arthur Christy, under whom at Columbia I carried on my research, handed me a slip of paper. On it was a note to the effect that in the voluminous volume of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Letters there was one from Emerson's aunt, Mary Moody, written while Emerson was still in college. In it she stated that she hoped that Emerson had received the materials about Rammohun Roy which she had sent to him. This letter was written years before there was any evidence of Indian philosophical influences on Emerson's life and long before Transcendentalism took New England by storm.

Dr. Christy, who is an authority on the influence of Orientalism on American literature, was at that time engaged in finding the roots of such influence. He suggested that I should endeavour to find a root in Rammohun Roy. He wanted to know what had brought on the flowering of Transcendentalism; how this exotic plant of pantheism and polytheistic monism found root in the cold and bleak soul of New England Puritanism.

In Emerson's youth the way of religious re-orientation had already been prepared by the then flourishing Unitarians who denied much of Christian dogmatism created by Roman Catholics and denied, especially, the existence of the Trinity. By so doing the Unitarians logically completed the swing of the intellectual pendulum set into motion by Martin Luther. But Unitarianism was too much of the mind. It took from religion all the illusory beauties which both impede religion and at the same time give it emotional substance. It was not soul-satisfying to a people deeply repressed by nature and used to revival meetings and emotional conversions. It had distilled religion to an intellectual purity, but in so doing had lost the rhythm of the pattern of creation. In Emerson's day, Unitarianism was just at the cross roads. Its climax of intellectual strength had already passed. Emerson represented the dissatisfied mind of his day in his turning to alien fields for new ideas and concepts.

Unitarianism prepared the ground for New England's Transcendentalism by freeing the mind from the conventional trammels of dogmatic Puritanism and left the mind of the analytically inclined

free but without religious ballast. It was this condition which made possible its acceptance of such an alien element as Indian philosophy.

But whence came the new tide? That was the question to be explored. Dr. Christy suggested that I should find out who Rammohun Roy was, for he had never heard of him except as his name was mentioned by Emerson's aunt in her letter.

I set to work. That one notation on a scrap of paper became a deluge of material before the task was complete. The problem on hand was: to find out who Rammohun Roy was; what he had written and said; what was written about him; if what he had written and what was written about him ever came to America or influenced Americans; and, finally, if this material did come, how was it available to those New Englanders who gave birth to Transcendentalism?

The first problem led me to library catalogues and biographies of Rammohun Roy available in America. I discovered Rammohun Roy but only to be amazed that he was so soon forgotten in the West, which appreciated him even before his own countrymen had begun to recognize his greatness.

The first problem also brought me into contact with the Brahmo Samaj in India, who had at that time (1933-1934) just celebrated the Centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy (1833). I began to correspond with Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti and Mr. Amal Home, who generously placed at my disposal biographical and bibliographical materials on Rammohun Roy. Mr. Home's excellent monograph "Rammohun Roy: The Man And His Work" was of great help to me.

The second problem was a more difficult one. For although American periodicals in the different libraries of the country had been arranged and catalogued up to 1800 and after 1850, the intervening years had remained untouched. As a result, I had to catalogue the publications before I could proceed further. This meant hours in the archives of America's oldest libraries. All libraries not founded before 1830 were excluded.

Having prepared the necessary list of publications by actually going over dust-covered shelves and musty catalogues and card files in over twenty major libraries, the next problem was to turn the pages of these journals and periodicals, some of which were still uncut after one hundred years. When indices were missing, I had to search page by page for articles about Rammohun Roy. The libraries wherein this work was done extended from Massachusetts to Washington, D. C.

Fortunately, some libraries had printed catalogues. But finding out articles published in the magazines of America, England and other European countries available in the libraries was not enough. Even the presence of Rammohun Roy's publications was not real evidence

of his influence, though the American editions of his works were strong proof of interest in his ideas. I had to make sure that these books had found place in the libraries during and previous to the 1840's when Transcendentalism was being born and bearing fruit. Moreover, it was important to find out who had read these writings, if possible.

Only in a very few cases could I trace the readers of a book. Some of these were minor lights of the Transcendental group. But the important members of the group left no trace behind them, or if they did read the books then available, they must have owned them or borrowed them privately. In several cases, letters were of great help. Rammohun Roy corresponded with several Americans and with Englishmen who came to America. He made a great impression on those he met in England, who later wrote letters about him to American friends. Several families spent hours with me going over century-old packets of letters yellow with age. The Ware family was especially kind in this respect.

Into the task of bringing together this mass of material evidence thus collected, went over a year of continuous labour and at least a thousand miles of travel. It became a fascinating pursuit which, like a mirage, led me further and further into the desert. The oasis was reached at last. Enough data I found could be drawn together finally to form a definite conclusion, even with all the erudite restrictions as regards exactitude and the opposition to imaginative speculation which characterize researches carried on under the auspices of Columbia University.

It became obvious that while it could not be *factually* proved that Rammohun Roy's writings or materials about him did pass the hands of New England's principal Transcendentalists, with the exception of Ralph Waldo Emerson, already referred to, Rammohun Roy was with them for a brief time the burning issue of the day. Articles about him appeared in at least fifty percent of the religious publications of the eastern coast of the United States, especially in New England. And in the days at least three-fourths of America's periodicals were either of a religious nature or partially religious. The controversy over Christianity that Rammohun Roy conducted with the Serampore Missionaries was as avidly followed by American Unitarians as by those in England and by Indians in Bengal. And it must be noted that with a few exceptions, the entire intelligentsia of New England of the day belonged to this religious sect. Unitarianism dominated some of the leading Universities, including Harvard. Most of the Transcendentalists were educated in these Unitarian-dominated centres of learning, and some of them prepared for the ministry, including Ralph Waldo Emerson. In fact, Rammohun Roy was so much a topic of discussion in America that all the major libraries of the day had copies of his works relative to the controversy on Christian dogma. Several editions of his writings were also published in New England.

The reader may object that Rammohun Roy's translations of the Vedas and Upanishads were but rarely found in America in those days and, therefore, Hindu influence on the thought of the time was not very great. On the contrary, the fact that Rammohun Roy's controversies with Christian missionaries were so largely circulated is a point of great importance. Only through this door of the mind could the New England intellect be led into the maze of Indian speculative thought. Rammohun Roy's interpretations and speculations were Westernized enough to make the otherwise too-alien Hindu thought and philosophy palatable to puritanical, personal-god-minded New Englanders. Those who were thus led half-way were thereby given the courage to taste this new and exotic fruit. If the translations of Hindu scriptures only had come to America they would have been read and appreciated by but a few erudite scholars. Certainly in that case Rammohun Roy would not have been a topic of public discussion, he would not have focussed for a time the spotlight of publicity on Oriental thought, and New England Transcendentalism might never have produced what it did.

I have here made a definite allusion to Rammohun Roy as the medium through which Oriental philosophy reached New England. While factually no one can prove that it was the reading of his books or the information about him strewn in the pages of many contemporary periodicals which stirred the New England mind so deeply, one thing is certain: Previous to New England's knowledge of Rammohun Roy there was no sign of any influence of Oriental thought on the American mind. In the period of 1800 to 1815 or 1820 the only Oriental data which I could trace in America were erudite Asiatic Society of England publications and a few far-fetched Oriental tales. Neither impressed the New England mind. No first rate American writer showed any sign of interest in the Orient. New England's association with the Orient was confined to China, mainly because of trade in silk and tea. "Paisley shawls" became popular because of this Oriental trade, and even today some of the finest of Kashmir shawls may be found in New England homes. Direct trade with India was rare, however. The romance of this trade fired only the imagination of the story-teller, and he told his tale inaccurately and badly. Hindu thought remained an unknown quantity.

The dual impact of Romanticism from England and more especially from Germany (the latter being alive with philosophic speculation and mystic in quality) and Oriental thought,—the first consciousness of which, I feel certain, was stirred unwittingly and imperceptibly by Rammohun Roy—produced the flower which is known as American Transcendentalism. Whereas England produced Romantics like Shelley and Byron, New England, always ten or more years behind the new trends of Europe, produced a Romanticism peculiar to herself. New England, sobered by Puritanism which spurned frivolity and was preoccupied with sin,

death and morals, responded most completely in the philosophic field. Its medium was prose, not poetry. There is no Heine and his "blue flower", no ravishing love lyrics. There is Thoreau and his gentle little essays on Nature. Indeed there is Emerson with his laboured prose and large ideas. The inspiration of Romanticism came from the West but the needed intellectual food certainly came from the East.

I am glad that my findings are now being published in book form so that in my own humble way I may contribute to a just and proper estimate of Rammohun Roy's great mind and influence. I am deeply indebted to my esteemed friend Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, for the trouble he has taken in bringing out this work and for the kind encouragement he has always given me. I am no less indebted to Mr. Amal Home, the well-known Editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, whose friendly co-operation since my arrival in India has been a source of unfailing assistance to me in more than one sphere and particularly in the publication of this volume.

I should also like to express my gratitude to the distinguished Editor of *The Modern Review* for introducing my work to readers in India first through his remarkable periodical and then by writing the 'Introduction' with which this book begins.

CALCUTTA,  
March 30, 1942. }

ADRIENNE MOORE

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Miss Isadora Mudge of Columbia University for the time and effort that she expended in my behalf ; to Dr. H. M. Leydenberg and Mr. Keyes D. Metcalf of the New York Public Library, and to Mr. H. B. Myres of the Legislative Reference Department of the Library of Congress. I further wish to acknowledge the suggestions of Dr. Andrew Keogh of the American Oriental Society Library at Yale ; of Dr. Clarence Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester ; and of Dr. Franklin Southworth, Unitarian Minister and President of the All India Theistic Conference in 1929. I also feel indebted to Dr. Christopher Eliot, President of the Unitarian Historical Society ; to the American Unitarian Association ; to the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee of Calcutta which generously contributed literature on Rammohun Roy ; and to Mr. M. C. Parekh, author, for advice and information. And finally I am grateful for the inspiration offered by Dr. Robert Hume of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and to Dr. Arthur Christy of the Graduate English Department of Columbia University, who suggested the difficult but fascinating theme of this essay.

Columbia University,  
U. S. A.  
February, 1935. }

ADRIENNE MOORE

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# **PART I**

**RAMMOHUN ROY**

# RAMMOHUN ROY AND AMERICA

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to show the possible influence of Rammohun Roy in the United States between the years 1816 and 1836 or 1840. The method used in developing the subject places emphasis on the bibliography rather than on the essay portion of this thesis.

The material at hand divides itself into certain general groups :

1. Original articles dealing with Rammohun Roy in American periodicals and newspapers ; articles or quotations concerning Roy reprinted from foreign publications in American periodicals and newspapers ; and articles on Roy appearing in foreign publications which were presented to the American reading public through the presence of these publications in the United States.

2. Correspondence between Rammohun Roy and Americans.

3. Letters to America concerning Rammohun Roy from those who knew him either in India or in England.

4. The published works of Rammohun Roy, that is, books, tracts, and pamphlets, either imported from India or England, or republished in America from the foreign editions, or originally compiled in the United States.

5. Possible access of the American public to the above listed material, between the years 1816 and 1836 or 1840.

Because it is impossible actually to prove that Rammohun Roy had a direct influence on the course of American thought and literature, and because I am nevertheless convinced that he was one of the original stimuli to an interest in Orientalism in the United States, I have resorted to the method of quantitative presentation of bibliographical and statistical material rather than attempt to offer a predominantly literary treatment, which, at best, would be merely a presentation of personal surmises. I have felt impelled to list not only material directly bearing on Rammohun Roy, but also certain other important data which I gathered during my efforts to prove that Rammohun Roy material was available to the American public between the years mentioned above.

The subject dealt with in this thesis was apparently untouched heretofore,<sup>1</sup> thus necessitating a tremendous amount of preliminary groundwork. This essay may be considered almost in the nature of a chart that will become useful for reference and a basis for further research.

During his lifetime Rammohun Roy was probably more esteemed by the Occidental than by the Oriental world. Today, however, the situation has been reversed. Now, practically unknown in the Occident, he is being acclaimed as "the Father of Modern India" in the Orient. He stands forth as the author of most of the reform movements of present-day India.<sup>2</sup> The year 1933 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Rammohun Roy. In India, this anniversary was commemorated by a great celebration in which many of the prominent reformers and intellectual leaders of India, as well as outstanding foreigners, including American Unitarians, participated. The homage that was offered in Rammohun Roy's memory clearly shows the magnitude and power of the man. Is it too much to presume that his influence--during the most active part of his lifetime, when he was generally known to the reading public of America and became (during the 1820's) almost a household word in New England--was one of the possible causes of a new cycle of thought in America, and that this new cycle helped to usher in Transcendentalism?<sup>3</sup> For it is clear that Rammohun Roy's achievements

1. Arthur Christy in his *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, gives, pp. 65, 66, 338-340, the only mention of Roy that I have found which connects Roy with literary America. The suggestion here is based on slight evidence and not on intensive research on the subject.

2. Rammohun Roy fostered such reform movements as (a) the abolition of *suttee*, (b) fairness in jury selection and recognition of native worth politically and intellectually, (c) freedom of the Press, (d) fair taxation, (e) women's rights, (f) reform of property and inheritance laws, (g) religious purification, including the abolition of idolatry, etc., (h) the abolition of the caste system.

3. Some twenty-five American publications containing comments on Rammohun Roy between the years 1818 and 1840 are listed in the "Bibliography" of this Essay. *The Christian Register* (Boston, founded in 1821) alone contained over one hundred references between 1821 and 1830; many of these were articles of some length, several running into as many as eight columns, and about fifteen were front page articles. By reason of their extensive circulation (as will be evident from Part III, 1—section entitled "Access to Periodical Material" of the thesis), these twenty-five publications collectively carried the word of

were not unknown to at least the leading spirit of the so-called "Transcendental group"—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

A letter from Ralph Waldo Emerson to his aunt Mary Moody Emerson, quoted by James E. Cabot in his *Memoir of Emerson*,<sup>4</sup> offered the first clue in the investigation of the topic. This led to the discovery that considerable material concerning Rammohun Roy was accessible to the American public during the period which immediately preceded the Transcendental era of American literature. In view of the fact that Rammohun Roy was the first, or at least the first important contact of America with India,<sup>5</sup> the question which naturally arises is: To what extent might Rammohun Roy have been the cause of American interest in Orientalism?

Rammohun Roy to many parts of the United States, New England, however, and particularly Boston, was the place of most intensive concentration of such material; for, of the twentyfive publications, about half were published in Boston, and another fourth either in Rhode Island or Connecticut or in some Massachusetts city other than Boston. Familiarity with Rammohun Roy was further augmented by the prevalence of foreign, particularly of British, publications containing discussions of him and his work. These publications either circulated freely, were subscribed to through booksellers, or were accessible through libraries. (A further demonstration of the extensive knowledge of Rammohun Roy in America is given in my Bibliography of periodicals—American, English, Indian and French,—containing articles on Rammohun Roy published between 1816 and 1840,—Part II. B, 1-4).

4. Clarence L. F. Gohdes in his *Periodicals of American Transcendentalism*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1931, p. 9, lists the following as comprising the Transcendental group "in the narrowest sense," that is, "only those who were actually regarded by their contemporaries as such":—William Ellery Channing, W. H. Channing, R. W. Emerson, Bronson Alcott, F. H. Hedge, James Freeman Clark, W. H. Furness, John S. Dwight, C. P. Cranch, Elizabeth Peabody, and possibly Margaret Fuller.

5. New York and Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1887, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 80, 81.

6. A publication entitled *Asiatic Researches* is to be found listed in the early catalogues of nearly all the major American libraries between 1800 and 1820. This London periodical, founded in 1790, was published until 1811. Its passages contained contributions from the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The publication, however, seems to have been historical in purpose, and to have dealt rather with the physical than with the spiritual aspects of India. It is certain that it was in no way even suggestive of the

## AN ESTIMATE OF RAMMOHUN ROY

Before discussing the influence of Rammohun Roy in the United States, it is necessary to realize who he was and to appreciate his place in the world of Hindu thought and culture.<sup>7</sup>

type of interest that Rammohun Roy was to create either in England or in America.

The only other apparent source that might have created American interest in the Orient before the advent of Rammohun Roy was the Oriental Tale which appeared from time to time in various American periodicals. These stories seem so Westernized, however, that their Oriental features appear to be mainly superficial. Certainly no deep penetration into the philosophy of the Orient was to be had from them, and whatever interest in the Orient they may have aroused was probably in the field of fancy rather than fact.

### 7. The main biographies of Rammohun Roy are :

Sandford Arnot : *Biography and Autobiography of Rammohun Roy*, *Athenaeum* (Magazine) No. 310, (October 5, 1833), pp. 666-668.

Montgomery Robert Martin : *Biography of Rammohun Roy*, *Court Journal*, Vol. V, (October, 1833), p. 578.

Lant Carpenter : *A Review of the Labours, Opinions, and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London, Rowland, Hunter, Simpkin and Marshall, 1833.—Bristol, Browne and Reid, 1833. (140 pp.)

Mary Carpenter : *The Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London, Trübner, 1866. (254 pp.)—2nd edition, London, E. T. Whitfield, 1875. (xiv + 178 pp.)—Calcutta, R. C. Laepage and Company, 1866.—Calcutta, Rammohun Roy Library, 1915. (xi + 255 pp.)

Max Muller : "Raja Rammohun Roy," in *Biographical Essays*, London and New York, Scribners, 1884.—London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1884. (390 pp.) Pp. 1-48.

Jogendra Chunder Ghose : *Biographical Introduction to the English Works of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1885-87, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 1-30.

Sophia Dobson Collet : *The Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy*, London, Harold Collet, 1900.—The same, edited by H. C. Sarkar, with a short biography of Miss Collet, B. M. Press, Calcutta, 1913 (lxxxiv + 280 pp.)—H. C. Sarkar's Edition reprinted at the Classic Press, Calcutta, 1930. (lxxx + 263 pp.) (This is the edition referred to throughout this Essay).—London, Unitarian Society, 1914. (260 pp.)

To Rammohun Roy must be assigned a place among the heroes of India.

With an energy which set at naught the formidable resistance he encountered from the slaves of bigotry ; with a perseverance which was unwavering ; with a moral courage which triumphed over persecution ; with a benevolence which was not exclusive but catholic ; with a religious aspiration which was fervid and impassioned but not impulsive and fanatical—he laboured, according to the light and knowledge he enjoyed, to liberate the Hindu mind from the tyranny of superstition, and to inoculate it with the elevating principles of a more rational faith.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, Rammohun Roy has deservedly been called the "Father of Modern India."

Born in 1772, in Western Bengal, Rammohun Roy was descended from Brahmin stock of the most ancient lineage. This background is best described in his own words :

My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since followed his example, and according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling ; sometimes rich and sometimes poor ; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors,

Dina Nath Ganguli : "A Sketch of the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy" and other Essays in the Memorial Edition of *Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages and Texts of the Veds, etc.* Calcutta, Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, 1903. Pp. ix-lxxxvi.

Ramananda Chatterjee : *Rammohun Roy and Modern India*, Calcutta, 1918.

Manilal C. Parekh : *Rajarshi Rammohun Roy*, Rajkot, Kathiawad, M. C. Parekh, 1927. (287 pp.)

Amal Home : *Rammohun Roy, the Man and His Work*, Centenary Publicity Booklet No. 1, Calcutta, Satis C. Chakravarti, 1933. (vii+161 pp.)

Upendra Nath Ball : *Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, U. Ray and Sons, 1933. (345 pp.).

A more complete list of books dealing with Rammohun Roy is given in the "General Bibliography" (PART IV) and also in the Periodical Bibliography.

The Biography by Miss Collet and that by Mr. Ball were officially recommended by the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, Calcutta.

8. *Calcutta Review*, 1845.

being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquility of mind to the excitements of ambition and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.<sup>9</sup>

Rammohun Roy's education was in keeping with his Brahmin background. After several years of home training under the usual *gurumahashay* or teacher, he was sent, about 1780, to Patna to study Arabic. He was already conversant with Bengali and Persian, the latter being the court language of the day. It was at Patna that Rammohun Roy first became interested in monotheism as found in the forms of Mohammedanism. After Patna, came Benares, the Indian Oxford, with its Sanskrit scholars. There he absorbed the mythical and philosophic past of Hindu philosophy. These two contacts caused Roy to take a definite stand against polytheism which he later believed was a perversion of the Vedanta, and caused him to lean away from pantheism toward theism. At fourteen, the rebellious youth dared to defy the teachings of his father, and probably because of the conflict that resulted from such a stand, left the parental household to travel. His travels were apparently quite extensive. Indeed, Sandford Arnot, his secretary in England, claimed, after the death of the Rajah, that he had even visited Tibet during this period and narrowly escaped with his life for accusing the lamas of perverting the teachings of Buddha. The actual itinerary is unrecorded by Roy, but he did return home with an enlarged mental horizon.

Because Rammohun Roy's eldest son was not born until seven years after the Rajah's return from his travels, Miss Collet does not believe that Roy began family life on his own account until about 1800, but spent the intervening years probably in Benares taking advantage of "the facilities afforded by that sacred city for the study of Sanskrit."<sup>10</sup> But even when home life was resumed, it does not seem to have lasted very long. Undoubtedly the conflict of ideas within the man made any orthodox situation uncomfortable for him. This period, ending about 1804 with the publication at Murshidabad (where he had removed after the death of his father) of his first literary achievement, *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, was decidedly one of turbulent transition and great mental unrest.

9. *Autobiography*, p. 1.

10. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 8.

*Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, or *A Gift to Monotheists*, was a theological tract in Persian, the main contention of which was that people attach too much importance to particular forms of religion and forget that falsehood is common to all faiths, since all are dependent on fallible human teachers for interpretation. "The fact is that habit and training make individuals blind and deaf notwithstanding their having eyes and ears." This first document set forth one of the main ideas to which Rammohun Roy held fast throughout his life, that is, an opposition to prophets and dogmatic religions.

He was a firm believer in direct revelation. Any interference with the relations between man and his Maker by the interposition of a mediator was considered an infringement of this principle.<sup>11</sup>

By 1801, Rammohun Roy was proficient in English and had begun to make English associations. These included a connection with Fort William College, a position with a Mr. Thomas Woodford, and finally, service in the East India Company under Mr. John Digby who became his life-long friend.<sup>12</sup> But despite his unselfish efforts in behalf of Rammohun Roy, Mr. Digby was unable to destroy the stigma that kept the Indian native in servitude and denied Rammohun Roy his proper advancement in the Company. Rammohun Roy finally left the East India Company in disgust, but remained at Rangpur, where he had removed with Mr. Digby.<sup>13</sup> The departure of Mr. Digby for England made Rammohun Roy decide to move to Calcutta, a change further motivated by the dislike he had incurred among the orthodox natives.

Rammohun Roy's arrival in Calcutta marks the actual beginning of his public life. He was fortytwo years of age, mature, and well prepared for the great work that lay before him—the task of arousing India from her state of lethargy and making her conscious of her dormant powers.<sup>14</sup>

The learned Brahmins in those days paid more attention to the study of Nyaya and Smritis, and their position depended upon their knowledge in those subjects. But they were so ignorant of their original authority, the Vedas, that most of them did not know the meaning of the *Mantras* (prayers) they repeated thrice a day. The rich had nothing to do with learning ; most of them could not spell the words, not to say of using them correctly. They thought it was sufficient if they could write letters and keep the accounts for their worldly purposes.<sup>15</sup>

11. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 23.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-28.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-33.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Rammohun Roy felt that such a degraded situation in which ignorance produced polytheism, *suttee*, and other customs repugnant to an intelligent man with enlightened religious conceptions, could be corrected only by education. This he determined to bring about by establishing schools, by instigating discussion, and by circulating literature written either by himself or by those in sympathy with him. All this he did at his own expense.

In Calcutta, where his fame preceded him, Rammohun Roy found both objectors and sympathizers. The latter he organized into an informal discussion group called the Atmiya Sabha. More numerous than his friends, however, were his opponents who were frequently so annoyed by his boldness that his life was more than once in danger.

Rammohun Roy's translation of the sacred scriptures from Sanskrit into Bengali was one of his first steps toward awakening India. These translations were important religiously and philosophically, but they also marked the beginning of Bengali literature. In them Roy continually pointed out that polytheism was merely a perversion of the pure texts which were originally monotheistic :

Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of Hindus in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only.<sup>16</sup>

The orthodox Hindus were alarmed, but the Christian missionaries hailed the reform, although they were uncertain whether to class Rammohun Roy as part Christian or pure Hindu. In 1816, the first notices of this great man began to appear in the Western world in the *Periodical Account of the Baptist Missionary Society* and the *Missionary Register*, both London publications. From these sources one learns that Roy had at this time about five hundred followers, and that two attempts had already been made on his life. About this same year the *Monthly Repository of Theology*, an English Unitarian publication, popular among American Unitarians and subscribed to by Harvard University, also began to recognize Rammohun Roy, while the *Christian Reformer* of 1818 showed intense enthusiasm in its publication of a letter concerning Roy written by the Reverend Thomas Belsham.<sup>17</sup>

16. *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, edited by J. C. Ghose, Calcutta, 1885-87. "Introduction to the Ishopanishad", pp. 86, 87.

17. Thomas Belsham, Introduction to William Root's Letter about Rammohun Roy, *Christian Reformer*, Vol. IV, p. 2 (1818).

As the natural outcome of his writings, Rammohun Roy was drawn into religious controversies. In the *Madras Courier* of 1816 appeared a letter dated December 25, and signed by Sankara Sastri. Sastri felt that Roy's translations would be detrimental rather than helpful to the average Hindu who was unfit to understand the words of the sacred works. This and other charges made in the letter Rammohun Roy answered by his *Defence of Hindoo Theism in Reply to an Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras* (1817), in which his shrewdness of argument demolished his opponent. The essay entitled *A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vedas* also appeared in 1817. The *Apology*, in answer to which this essay was written, was full of abuse, but Rammohun Roy replied in his usual dignified manner.

Meanwhile, both in England and France, Rammohun Roy was fast becoming a celebrity. He was introduced to French thought through the efforts of M. D'Acosta, editor of the *Calcutta Times*, who had sent certain pamphlets by Rammohun Roy, along with comments about him, to Abbe Gregoire. Abbe Gregoire, a former bishop of Blois, became interested, and wrote a tract about Rammohun Roy which appeared both in the *Monthly Repository* (in English translation) and in the *Chronique Religieuse*.<sup>18</sup> Also important in making the name of Rammohun Roy known in Europe was the *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in the years 1817 and 1818* by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, [later, Earl of Munster], published in London in 1819.<sup>19</sup> This work contained one of the first graphic descriptions of Rammohun Roy to be presented to the Western world.

Once Rammohun Roy had become an active religious reformer, it was natural for him to broaden his field to include social reform. In India the practice of *suttee*—as great a blot on the nation as idolatry—was on the increase. Rammohun Roy's own hatred for the custom had an emotional as well as an intellectual basis, his own sister-in-law having been a victim of *suttee*.<sup>20</sup> Rammohun Roy began his campaign against the rite in 1818, but it was not abolished until ten years later, for the English officials, due to fear,

18. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 31.

19. London, J. Murray, 1819. Reviewed and quoted from in the *Christian Register*, *Quarterly Review*, *Literary Gazette*, *Monthly Repository*, *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, and other periodicals. My "General Bibliography" gives more detailed references.

20. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 82-87; S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, 49.

continually avoided the issue until the arrival of Lord William Bentinck as Governor General.<sup>21</sup> It was with the help of Rammohun Roy's arguments, which had destroyed the contention of the orthodox Hindu that *suttee* was based on fundamental Vedic authority, that the new Governor General was finally able to abolish the practice.<sup>22</sup>

In 1820 Rammohun Roy became involved in a controversy which made his name a household word in nearly every Unitarian family in England and America, and caused him to become front page news in many American newspapers and periodicals. He had presumed to criticize the Trinitarian interpretation of Christianity, and thus became a focal point in a Unitarian-Trinitarian controversy that raged on two continents. The Unitarians came to his rescue, and the Baptists, his former friends, led the opposition.

Rammohun Roy's connection with the controversy resulted from his publication, in 1820, of a small tract entitled *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament, ascribed to the Four Evangelists*.<sup>23</sup> This pamphlet, published at the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, was the product of Rammohun Roy's interest in Christianity; he wanted to give his countrymen the benefit of his own research in the Biblical texts which he had studied in Hebrew and Greek.<sup>24</sup> His original intentions were anything but controversial. The "Introduction" of this little tract is so revealing that it seems desirable to present it here almost in entirety.

A conviction in the mind of its total ignorance of the nature and of the specific attributes of the Godhead, and a sense of doubt respecting the real essence of the soul give rise to feelings of great dissatisfaction with our limited powers, as well as with all human acquirements which fail to inform us on these interesting points.

But the idea of God, continues the "Introduction," makes existence more agreeable. This God idea is derived from tradition or from "an attentive survey ... of nature." The "latter," though more or less common to all religions, is especially noticeable in Christianity, wherein it is an "essential characteristic."

21. S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-54; U. N. Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-105.

22. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 99-104.

23. (iv+82 pp.)

24. U. N. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 105; S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 56.

Amongst these opinions [that is, opinions of Christian authors], the most prevalent seems to be that no one is justly entitled to the appellation of Christian who does not believe in the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, as well as in the divine nature of God, the Father of all created beings. Many allow a much greater latitude to the term Christian, and consider it as comprehending all who acknowledge the Bible to contain the revealed will of God, however they may differ from others in their interpretations of particular passages of Scripture. . . . I confine my attention at present to the task of laying before my fellow-creatures the words of Christ, with a translation from the English into Sanskrit, and the language of Bengal.<sup>25</sup> I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men. . . . For historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines, tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind . . . are beyond the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and to the unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of God, who . . . has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies . . . of nature, and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.

Rammohun Roy's whole attitude is exposed in this "Introduction." It is evident, first of all, that he considered the Christian God to be the same as his own, the same God that is worshipped in all religions. The thing that interested him in Christianity was its moral aspect; to him the "essential characteristic of the Christian religion" was its ideal humanity, its tendency to promote "the peace and harmony of mankind at large."<sup>26</sup> Rammohun Roy was certainly not a Christian in the orthodox sense. He was not "converted"; he had merely become intellectually appreciative. His was the view that is beginning to take hold in the twentieth century; but it is quite evident why such a comment precipitated

25. These purposed translations into Sanskrit and Bengali were never achieved, the project being side-tracked by the religious controversy into which Rammohun Roy was plunged.

26. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 57.

a controversy in his day when Christianity was strongly "fundamentalistic" and sectarian.

Led by the Baptists, who made the monthly *Friend of India* their mouthpiece, Rammohun Roy's opponents immediately launched their attack against him. The Reverend Deocar Schmidt went so far as to say that Rammohun Roy would injure the cause of Christianity.<sup>27</sup> Roy was deeply hurt.<sup>28</sup> It was certain that he had a more intelligent view of Christianity, and probably a better understanding of that religion, than did the active missionaries in India, all of whom were rigid in their views and unable to adapt themselves to the needs of the Indians with their thousands of years of religious background. Rammohun Roy quickly replied to these attacks with *An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus."* and signed the tract "A Friend of Truth."<sup>29</sup> His opponents had called him a "heathen," a name synonymous in his mind with "idolater."<sup>30</sup> In this tract he hotly defended his Christianity. He further defended the principle on which his selection of "Precepts" had been made, and pointed out the unsatisfactory results of missionary efforts in India, which caused Christianity to be mocked rather than respected. The missionaries, said Rammohun Roy, were teaching doctrines that the natives were unprepared to receive :

They have been so incautious and inconsiderate in their attempts to enlighten the natives of India, as to address the instructions to them in the same way as if they were reasoning with persons brought up in a Christian country, with those dogmatical notions imbibed from their infancy.

Dr. Marshman replied to Rammohun Roy with certain "Remarks" which appeared in the *Friend of India* in May, 1820. In this article he apologized for the use of the term "heathen," but stated that he refused to call "Christian" any one who did not accept "the Divinity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, and the Divine Authority of the whole of the Holy Scriptures." Some months later, Dr. Marshman further emphasized his opposing opinions in an article published in the quarterly *Friend of India*.<sup>31</sup> It was in answer to this essay that Rammohun Roy wrote his *Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus,"* which was published in 1821.<sup>32</sup>

27. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

29. Calcutta, 1820. (20 pp.)

30. U. N. Bell, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 110.

31. No. 1 (September, 1820).

32. Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, 1821, 173 pp.

In this second "*Appeal*" Rammohun Roy stated that in his "*Precepts*" he had omitted "the mention of the miracles performed by Jesus, without meaning to express doubts of their authenticity, or intending to slight them by such an omission"; but because "nothing but the sublimity of the precepts of Jesus had at first drawn his attention towards Christianity and excited his veneration for the author of this religion without aid from miraculous relations." He labelled himself a promulgator of Christianity and an opponent of polytheism. Trinitarianism he classed with polytheism. "The precepts of Jesus, which no other religion can equal or surpass, do not," insisted Rammohun Roy, "depend on the metaphysical arguments and mysteries with which they have been associated."<sup>33</sup>

The controversy in which Rammohun Roy was involved had by now dwindled to two points of contention; first, whether or not the precepts alone are sufficient to guide one to peace and happiness, and, second, whether God is unitarian or trinitarian. These two points were in turn reduced to one—Trinitarianism versus Unitarianism. In this form the controversy reached white heat in both England and America. The argument, thus centered in one point, stirred Rammohun Roy profoundly, for unity in the Godhead was one of his deepest convictions.

The theological discussion was at this time further brought into prominence by the conversion to Unitarianism of a certain William Adam. William Adam and William Yates, both Baptist missionaries, were working jointly with Rammohun Roy on the translation of the Gospels into Bengali. After a disagreement over interpretation, Yates withdrew, but Adam, as a result of his contact with Rammohun Roy, was converted to Unitarianism.<sup>34</sup> This caused great commotion and also much bitterness. The Unitarians at once became enthusiastic about foreign mission work, and William Adam, after forming a Unitarian Committee definitely connected with the American and English branches, established a Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta. Rammohun Roy assisted in every manner possible in these Unitarian activities: he supported the chapel, established a Unitarian Press, and published literature,—all at his own expense. And as a result of this connection he opened correspondence with several Unitarian leaders in both America and England.<sup>35</sup>

33. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 64.

34. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 130, 131.

35. See section III, 3 entitled "Private Sources of Information Concerning Rammohun Roy".

In December, 1821, Dr. Marshman's criticism of the *Second Appeal* caused Rammohun Roy again to take up his pen. This time a 256 octavo page treatise appeared to answer the article in the *Friend of India*. It was entitled *Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus,"* and was published in January, 1823.<sup>36</sup>

At the same time that Rammohun Roy was giving his interpretation of Christianity to the people of a Christian world and claiming in spirit to be one of them, he was also defending the devout Hindu in the pages of the *Brahmunical Magazine*, a publication established by him under the pen name "Shivuprusad Surma." Though this duality might make it seem as if Rammohun Roy was contradicting himself, it was, in reality, the sign of a deep understanding on his part of what is best in all religions. Rammohun Roy had started his new publication when the *Sumachar Durpan*, a Baptist Bengali paper, had refused to print his reply to an article which claimed that the Vedanta was pantheistical rather than monotheistical. Rammohun Roy printed his reply in his own paper, the *Brahmunical Magazine*, which he later used to give expression to his arguments against Trinitarianism and his opinions on other issues.<sup>37</sup>

After the publication of his *Final Appeal* in 1823, Rammohun Roy suggested the publication of a monthly magazine for Biblical criticism.

If any one of the missionary gentlemen for himself and in behalf of his fellow-labourers would send an essay in defence of their distinctive tenets, Rammohun would publish the same at his own expense.<sup>38</sup>

The publication did not materialize, but a new controversy did come into being as a result of the suggestion. This time the antagonist was a certain Doctor R. Tytler, who challenged Rammohun Roy to public or private debates. Rammohun Roy refused the offer, as it had not come from a responsible clergyman. So the controversy was argued out through a series of letters published in the *Bengal Hurkaru* during the latter part of April, May, and part of June, 1823. Tytler's arguments, based mainly on prejudices and emotional conclusions, were easily demolished by Rammohun Roy's clear ideas. Then, with the gradual withdrawal of Dr. Tytler, the whole matter finally

36. Calcutta, Dhurnitollah, Unitarian Press, January 30, 1823.

37. The *Brahmunical Magazine* had four known issues, Nos. I, II, and III appearing in 1821, and No. IV in 1823.

38. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 77.

came to an end. The letters were published in 1823 at the Bengal Hurkaru Press, and entitled, *A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity, against the Schismatic Attacks of R. Tytler, Esq., M. D.* by Ram Doss.<sup>39</sup>

About this time appeared Rammohun Roy's *Dialogue between a Missionary and Three Chinese Converts* (1823), the purpose of which was to show "that the impression produced on Chinese minds by the teaching of three gods, who are one God and one of whom died, is bewildering and ridiculous."<sup>40</sup>

In the fourth, and apparently the last, number of the *Brahminical Magazine*, which appeared on November 15, 1823, Rammohun Roy gave further expression to his controversial opinions, still concealing his identity under the pseudonym "Shivuprusad Surma". Indeed, he went so far as to say that the issue was published because Rammohun Roy had failed to reply to certain missionary attacks on the Vedanta. The main theme of this number was that the Christian creed is expressed in so many various ways that conversion to simple Christianity is impossible.

Possibly as a practical conclusion to the Trinitarian controversy of 1823, Rammohun Roy published his *Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the One True God*, signing it "Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor". His object in publishing this tract, he wrote, was to . . . recommend those to whom it is addressed to avoid using harsh or abusive language in their intercourse with European missionaries, either respecting them or their objects of worship, however much this may be countenanced by the example of some of these gentlemen.<sup>41</sup>

One phase of the unusual character of Rammohun Roy must here be noted. No matter how vigorous religious disputes became, he was never prejudiced against his opponents. In fact, during the heat of the Trinitarian controversy he attended the Scotch Presbyterian Church and even allowed his name to be used on a petition for the despatch of more Presbyterian missionaries to India.

39. This pamphlet was reprinted *verbatim* by the *Salem Courier*, Salem, Massachusetts, some time in 1828.

40. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 79.

41. Quoted in S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 80, 81. The Trinitarian controversy (1820-1823 inclusive) has been dealt with at great length because of its particular significance with regard to Roy's American influence. The American years of greatest interest may be said to be 1821-1824, allowing one year for transference of information.

Later he was to be the chief supporter of Alexander Duff in that missionary's great educational work.<sup>42</sup>

The Trinitarians at last were silenced, but not so the Hindu controversialists. Several tracts were written by Rammohun Roy and a certain antagonist who called himself "The Establisher of Religion" on the subject of whether or not Rammohun Roy and his followers, by their unorthodox behavior, had cut themselves off from Hinduism. To this controversy Rammohun Roy contributed his *Answers to Four Questions* and a Bengali tract entitled *Pathya Pradana* (Medicine for the Sick). The argument, as Miss Collet describes it, was between the "Rabbinism of the Hindu religion" and "its Prophetism."<sup>43</sup> The "Establisher of Religion" suggested a boycott of Rammohun Roy and his associates, claiming that they had lost caste. On similar grounds, Roy's own mother tried to disinherit him, but without success.<sup>44</sup> Rammohun Roy's one desire in life was to help his own people, and because of this he was at all times careful not to violate rules which might make him an outcaste. Furthermore, he had no desire to destroy the inheritance of his children, or to cut off his own income, which would have rendered him helpless in the pursuit of his work.

In 1824 a pamphlet entitled *Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India* was published by the Harvard University Press under the auspices of the Reverend Henry Ware. It centered about certain questions that had been asked of William Adam and Rammohun Roy in 1823, and the answers of both; those of Adam were quite lengthy while those of Roy were very brief.<sup>45</sup> This publication, which also contained other correspondence dealing with the matter, probably marked the height of interest in Rammohun Roy in America, as well as the turning point of Rammohun Roy's own interest in Unitarianism. The next few years found Unitarian Christianity steadily growing weaker in India. In 1827 Rammohun Roy and his followers made one more attempt to arouse interest, but before the end of the following year it was clear to William Adam and his fellow missionaries that the entire idea of Unitarianism in India would have to be given up. For Rammohun Roy and his associates, along with the American and English Unitarians, seemed to have lost all interest in the work.

42. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 172-179.

43. S. D. Collet, *Raju Rammohun Roy*, pp. 82-84.

44. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 215-217.

45. Roy's reply to the twentyfive questions was contained in a letter dated February 2, 1824.

This change that came over Rammohun Roy was not due to fickleness. Rather, as time went on, he had become increasingly aware that his was fundamentally a religious personality, and that that personality must find expression. He had sought this expression in Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and in trinitarian and unitarian Christianity; but none of these religions had completely satisfied him. In addition to this personal feeling of unrest, there was the added objection that he was dependent upon strangers for his religious needs. In other words, he was primarily a Hindu at heart. Rammohun Roy's realization of his position was eloquently expressed in a letter written by William Adam, February 18-20, 1826, to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman :

Mr. Tuppin in one of his letters asks,—Does Rammohun Roy profess to be a Christian? . . . I find it difficult to give a definite answer to this question, but the nearest approach to the truth, although I hope and believe that it is not the truth itself, would perhaps be to say that he is both a Christian and a Hindu,—Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus. And before you say either that I am contradicting myself or that he is insincere in his religion, you must candidly weigh all the circumstances in which he is placed. In the first place, then, his relinquishment of idolatry is absolute, total, public, uncompromising; and when you reflect who he is and what he is, this is of itself an invincible test of integrity of religious principles and conduct. But his relinquishment of idolatry is not inconsistent with the retention of his Brahmanical rights and observance of the rules of caste, the latter of which is necessary to the former and both are necessary to enable him to be useful to his countrymen,—the thing which he has most at heart. On the other hand, although he may safely relinquish idolatry, he cannot safely profess Christianity. The profession would involve loss of caste, loss of property, loss of influence, loss of everything but a name; and while he employs caste, property, influence, everything to promote, not the nominal profession merely, but the enlightened belief and salutary influences of Christianity, his claim to be a practical although not a nominal Christian would seem to be undoubted. In this point of view, Hinduism furnishes the antidote to its own inherent intolerance. There is another reason for the course he has pursued. The profession of Christianity would identify him in the opinion of Hindus not with the respectable and liberal portion of the Christian population, but with the low, ignorant and depraved converts recently made by the English, or long since made by the Portuguese missionaries,—and in the opinion of Mussulmans who hold him in high esteem, with Trinitarians generally, for such Mussulmans suppose all Christians to be. In other words, the profession of Christianity would inevitably, in the present circumstances of this country, identify him with persons from whom he differs as widely as from those with whom he is now identified. He has, therefore, only a choice of

evils, and he has hitherto chosen that which, although he groans under its bondage, leaves him greater liberty and usefulness than he could otherwise possess. I have thus given you the view of his circumstances and conduct which I have reason to suppose he would himself give you if he were now writing to you ; and I have only further to add that . . . I do not feel these reasons to be quite so convincing as they appear to him. . . . I have no doubt that in his opinion they possess all the force necessary fully to justify him in the sight of God and his own conscience in the course which he has pursued.

Since writing the preceding paragraph, I have had an opportunity of showing it to Rammohun Roy, who considers it a correct representation of his feelings and sentiments.<sup>46</sup>

Rammohun Roy's religious dissatisfaction finally culminated in the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. This organization had its inception on August 20, 1828. Miss Collet suggests that possibly William Adam first proposed the formation of this society, realizing that organized religions did not offer a solution for Rammohun Roy's religious needs ; or again, one of Rammohun Roy's native followers may first have expressed the desire for a native church.<sup>47</sup> Possibly both suggestions were simultaneous.

During the entire period of Rammohun Roy's activities in religious and social reform, two other sides of his versatile nature were finding expression—his interest in journalism and in education. Rammohun Roy's interest in journalism began some time in 1819, in which year the strict press restriction was removed, and culminated in the publication of the weekly *Sambad Kaumudi*, the first Bengali paper to be printed and managed by natives.<sup>48</sup> The *Sambad Kaumudi*, established in 1821, had as its purpose the discussion of "religious, moral and political matters, domestic occurrences, foreign as well as local intelligence", for the benefit of the common people, while the *Miral-ul-Akhbar*, a Persian paper founded by Rammohun Roy in 1822, was published for the benefit of the intellectual minority, and was devoted to free criticism of English policy.<sup>49</sup>

The year 1823 brought disaster to the Indian Press by the passage of the Regulation Bill which prohibited uncensored news. In that same year the *Calcutta Journal* was suppressed for its comments on governmental officials

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46. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 117, 118.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125 ; G. S. Leonard, *History of the Brahmo Samaj from its Rise to the Present Day*, Calcutta, Newman and Company, 1879. (ii+179 pp.) Refer to pp. 36, 37.

48. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 179-187.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-187.

and policies, and its editors, J. S. Buckingham and Sandford Arnot, were deported to England.<sup>50</sup> According to law, twenty days, during which protests could be heard, were required to elapse before the Regulation Bill could be declared legal. Rammohun Roy and fifteen other natives immediately drew up a protest and presented it to Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole Judge in the case. This failing, Rammohun Roy presented a memorial—which Miss Collet fittingly calls the “*Aeropagitica of Indian history*”—to the Supreme Court.<sup>51</sup> But this, too, was of no avail, and as a last resort, Rammohun Roy presented a memorial to the King in Council. All efforts were fruitless, and the deadening measure finally became effective in November, 1824. The *Mirat* soon ceased to be published, though the *Sambad* was continued. Rammohun Roy's decision to discontinue the former rather than the latter of these papers was based not only on the fact that the *Mirat* was more select, and hence more expensive, but also on the consideration that it was more free in its opinions, and hence more dangerous to the government and more likely to draw upon itself official interference.

Rammohun Roy's first venture in education centered about the Hindu College which he and David Hare had conceived about 1816. (This institution when fully developed was formally named the ‘Anglo-Indian College’, though it continued to be popularly known as the ‘Hindu College’.) But in order that it might receive the support of orthodox Hindus, Rammohun Roy had been forced to sever his connection with it.<sup>52</sup> As early as 1816 or 1817, therefore, he founded an English school of his own at Suripara. Here boys were instructed free in the elementary subjects, and later a class for advanced students was added. Finally a plot of ground was purchased at Simla, and the “Anglo-Hindu School” came into its own premises in 1822. After that year the school was managed under the direction of the Unitarian Committee, but financially it was still dependent on its founder. The institution was very successful, but Rammohun Roy, remembering his former experience with the Hindu College, refused to place it under the direction of a committee.

Rammohun Roy's educational interests, like his religious ones, led him into controversy. In this connection his opponents were the Orientalists who did not share his educational views. Rammohun Roy felt that education in the new India must mean more than the study of the old classics, and that the new order called for the learning of

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.

51. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 97.

52. U. N. Bull, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 152-156.

English rather than Sanskrit. His most important writing for the cause of education was his letter on that subject addressed to Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India.<sup>53</sup> As a result of this letter, the government ultimately gave up its plan of founding Sanskrit schools and established the modern system of education in India.<sup>54</sup> Rammohun Roy had already advanced his educational views in the *Brahmical Magazine*,<sup>55</sup> wherein he had hotly defended the Vedantic philosophy but at the same time had ridiculed Vedantic education as "imaginary learning". Likewise in his letter to Lord Amherst, Rammohun Roy assured his correspondent that "the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep the country in darkness", and that he would like to see established "a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences." Rammohun Roy's seeming inconsistencies in this matter may be explained by the fact that he was primarily a practical man. He realized that Vedantic scholasticism had its place, but he knew that the times called for a more modern educational program. His idea of providing for only discriminating instruction in the Vedanta was best expressed in his treatise entitled *Different Modes of Worship*, which appeared January 18, 1825. This was published in Sanskrit under the pseudonym "Shivuprusad Surma", and thereafter translated into English with annotation by Rammohun Roy and signed "A Friend of the Author". Rammohun Roy's agitation was probably an influential factor in inducing the Government, which was contemplating the construction of a college building, to lay the foundation stone in February 1824, not in the name of the "Sanskrit College", but in that of the "Hindu College", although both were to be housed together.<sup>56</sup>

53. December 11, 1833. Quoted in entirety by U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 164-168. See also J. C. Ghose, editor, *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1885-1887, 2 vols., and other English collections.

54. Rammohun Roy's main objection to Sanskrit schools was their abuse of the Vedantic material, which led to over attention on petty details, resulting in polytheism, etc. However wise his decision may have been, there are prominent Indians today who still believe that Rammohun Roy's turning of the tide toward English education has delayed the development of native literature and culture almost a hundred years, for it is only recently that interest in Sanskrit and the ancient arts has been revived by the quiet literary and cultural renaissance that is sweeping through India.

55. Fourth Number, November 15, 1823.

56. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 105.

Rammohun Roy's educational interests led to other publications, among them a Bengali Grammar in 1826. His "Anglicist" tendencies as a whole only further illustrate the tremendous insight of the man, while his cosmopolitanism was influential in causing English ultimately to be declared the official language of India and English education to become the Indian ideal.<sup>57</sup>

In 1827, Rammohun Roy published *A Translation (into English) of a Sanskrit Tract Inculcating the Divine Worship, esteemed by those who believe in the revelation of the Veds as most appropriate to the nature of the Supreme Being.*<sup>58</sup> A few months later he published *The Answer of a Hindu to the Question "Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of Worship instead of the numerously attended Established Churches?"*<sup>59</sup> This tract he signed "Chandra Shekar Deb." Many other works belong to this short period of revived literary activity, but the important fact to note is that while Rammohun Roy was apparently becoming more interested in religion, he was at the same time becoming less argumentative on the subject. It would seem that he felt that he had finally attained at least a partial fulfilment of his religious nature in the Brahmo Samaj (1828). His energy, which up to this time had been largely expended in religious controversy, was now being diverted into political channels.

By 1830, Rammohun Roy had left India never to return. But before departing he resumed his literary work which had been temporarily interrupted by domestic troubles.

Rammohun Roy, the man, is more fully expressed in the Brahmo Samaj than in any other sphere of his activities, for the founding of this organization, in 1828, was symbolic of an idea which had taken years to crystallize in his mind; namely, that faith must be founded on reason. In 1829, a piece of land was purchased and a building was erected to house the society. The trust deed, which is said to have been the product of Rammohun Roy's versatile pen, clearly sets forth the ideas and principles underlying the institution.<sup>60</sup> An interesting fact was that the worshippers did not sever their various connections with the com-

57. English became the official language in 1835, as a result of Macaulay's speech as recorded in the Parliamentary Minutes of February 2. This marked the end of the Oriental-Anglicist controversy.

58. Calcutta, 1827; Tuttuobodheney Sabha, 1844. *Vide* Amal Home's *Rammohun Roy, the Man and his Work*, p. 139.

59. Calcutta, 1828.

60. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 151-154.

munities to which they belonged, and many of the members continued to perform Hindu rites in their homes.<sup>61</sup> The members of the organization, which Miss Collet speaks of as "the Theistic Church of India," were held together by a common belief in monotheism. The Brahmo Samaj was a meeting place for kindred spirits who assembled regularly to discuss religious and theological matters, and to sing and pray. The society had its enemies, however, as well as its supporters. The opposition took the form of the "Dharma Sabha", an organization that sought to excommunicate the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Despite its wealth, however, the Dharma Sabha was a failure.

In the year in which the Brahmo Samaj began to hold its services in the building newly erected, Rammohun Roy left for England. His work in India was done. But there remained behind him a new-born power which, in the course of years, was to wax and wane at intervals, but was always to draw unto itself some of the greatest minds of India.<sup>62</sup>

Although the Brahmo Samaj represented the most complete visible expression of Rammohun Roy, it, too, was to him, a compromise, a step towards the realization of an ideal. This fact is clearly suggested in a letter written by Willian Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, which reveals Rammohun Roy as a man always in search of an ideal and a man dominated by the intense desire to help his own people. In Rammohun Roy, as Adam's letter makes it evident, the personal and the collective were always combined, even though the experience was a highly personal one, such as religion :

Rammohun Roy, I am persuaded, supports this Institution [that is, the Brahmo Samaj] not because he believes in the divine

61. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. 246, 247.

62. The two greatest leaders of the later Brahmo Samaj were probably Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. Under Sen, the organization split into conservative and progressive sections : the progressive group was led by Sen. Latterly, after another split on a question of church government, Sen's church came to be called the 'New Dispensation'. Both Sen and Mozoomdar came to the Western world, the latter visiting America to attend the Congress of Religions held in conjunction with the World's Fair at Chicago in 1899. Sen, on a visit to England in the 1870's, was lionized by the English, and was enthusiastically sponsored and courageously defended by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet. Illustrative of the high type of modern members of the Brrhmo Samaj are Rabindranath Tagore, poet and Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*.

authority of the Ved, but solely as an instrument for overthrowing idolatry. To be candid, however, I must add that the conviction has lately gained ground in my mind that he employs Unitarian Christianity in the same way, as an instrument for spreading pure and just notions of God, without believing in the divine authority of the Gospel.<sup>63</sup>

It is clear from this quotation that Rammohun Roy was primarily a comparative religionist, that the tenets of no one sect, not even one of his own creation, such as the Brahmo Samaj—were broad enough to hold his undivided interests. Even in 1833, at the time of his death, he was still in search of an unrealized ideal.

For many years Rammohun Roy had desired to go to England, but various incidents had caused the long delay of ten or more years.<sup>64</sup> The time now seemed to have come, for the Emperor of Delhi, hearing of Rammohun Roy's desire, appointed him his special ambassador to handle certain business matters for him in England. Rammohun Roy was given the title of Rajah, so that he would have the proper dignity for the mission. The English authorities, however, refused to recognize this title or to allow him to go as a special ambassador. After much delay resulting from this disagreement, Rammohun Roy finally went as a private citizen. Later, however, his position was evidently recognized in England, for he was given a seat among the ambassadors at the coronation of the king.<sup>65</sup>

Rammohun Roy's trip to England was of great historical significance to India, for he was the first Indian of high caste and culture to visit the Western world.<sup>66</sup> Because of this great departure from tradition, he was subject to much ridicule from the orthodox natives. Attempts against his life had been made during his last year in India, and antagonism was stirred up against him by the Dharma Sabha. Despite this unpleasantness on the part of natives as well as English authorities, Rammohun Roy began his voyage on November 15, 1830, taking with him two servants and an adopted son of twelve.<sup>67</sup> The conditions under which Rammohun Roy made the journey are best set forth

63. January 22, 1829.—Quoted by U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 241.

64. Mr. Sutherland states that Rammohun Roy had first thought of the trip about 1823; Miss Collet sets the date as early as 1817.

65. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 57.

66. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 166.

67. U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 260.

in the letter of introduction written by Mr. J. Young to Jeremy Bentham.<sup>68</sup>

Rammohun Roy landed in Liverpool on April 8, 1831. During his stay in that city he was entertained by such men as William Roscoe, the author.<sup>69</sup> Another friend, James Sutherland, who sailed with Rammohun Roy to England, gives the best account of the journey and also a graphic description of the Liverpool days :

His [i.e., Roy's] arrival was no sooner known in Liverpool than every man of any distinction in the place hastened to call upon him, and he got into inextricable confusion with all his engagements making half a dozen sometimes for the same evening. . . . He was out morning, noon and night. . . . On all occasions, whether at breakfast, or dinner, a number of persons was assembled to meet him ; and he was constantly involved in animated discussion on politics or theology.<sup>70</sup>

All the incidents of this English visit cannot here be related. It is important to note, however, that though Rammohun Roy attracted the attention of people through curiosity, he made friendships based on esteem. His was a personality that was never misinterpreted, in spite of the dramatic impression that may have been created by his unusual appearance.

The first public place of worship that Rammohun Roy attended was a Unitarian chapel in Liverpool, but the Unitarians were somewhat disappointed to find that despite the fact that his best friends were members of their sect, he by no means confined himself to Unitarian church attendance.<sup>71</sup> It is also interesting to note that the same

68. November 14, 1830. Quoted in part by S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

69. Henry Roscoe, *The Life of William Roscoe by his Son*, London, T. Caddell. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1833, 2 vols. Boston, Odiorne, Russell and Metcalf, 1833.

70. James Sutherland, "Sketch of the Rajah Rammohun Roy, the Celebrated Indian Brahmin." *India Gazette*, February 18, 1834.

71. In Liverpool he attended the church of the Reverend W. Scoresby, Anglican ; see *The Reverend W. Scoresby's Memorial of his son*, London 1837. Roy also attended the services of William Jay at Rowland's Hill Chapel ; see the *Works of William Jay*, edited by himself. Bath, 1842-1843 ; London, 1843. While in London, Roy attended the Established Church so frequently that members of this church claimed, after his death, that he was not a Unitarian. See "Unitarian Assumptions," *Christian Observer and Advocate*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 669-679 (1834). Roy also attended Presbyterian, Quaker, and Jewish services.

officials of the East India Company, who had treated Rammohun Roy with scorn in India, now "eagerly sought his acquaintance". The Company even gave a public banquet in his honor.<sup>72</sup>

Public honors were everywhere awaiting Rammohun Roy, but he did not forget that his mission in England was political and not social. The charter of the East India Company was about to be renewed ; Rammohun Roy hoped to secure certain helpful measures for his people. He was asked by the Select Committee to appear for questioning, but he declined, choosing instead to present his evidence in successive "Communications". These appeared officially in the State Blue Books and were also separately printed for public sale, under the title *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, and of the General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants*.<sup>73</sup> This treatise dealt mainly with the revenue and judicial systems of India, but also devoted some attention to property rights.

Rammohun Roy, after being presented to the king, was accepted as a member of the highest social circles. Taking advantage of this fact, Sandford Arnot, who had become Rammohun Roy's secretary, urged him into an extravagant mode of living, telling him that this was demanded by his station. This brief interlude of expenditure soon ceased, however, and Rammohun Roy went to live at the home of Mr. Hare. Recent study of the relationship between Rammohun Roy and Sandford Arnot has made it increasingly evident that the latter deliberately "used" Rammohun Roy for his own benefit. When Rammohun Roy later became financially embarrassed, because of the delayed arrival of funds from India, Arnot harassed him for money and threatened to claim that he had written Rammohun Roy's books and articles for him. This he did imply after the death of Rammohun Roy in October, 1833 ; but Rammohun Roy was ardently defended by his friends.<sup>74</sup>

72. *Morning Chronicle* No. 19, 302. (July 9, 1831)

73. London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1832.

74. Dr. Lant Carpenter was especially active in defence of Rammohun Roy, writing several articles in reply to Arnot's articles which appeared in the *Athenaeum* No. 310, pp. 666-668 (October 5, 1833) ; *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XL, pp. 287-290 (October, 1833) ; and *Christian Reformer*, Vol. V. n. s. 9, pp. 36-39 (1838). Dr. Lant Carpenter wrote various articles, some of which appeared in the *Monthly Repository*. In 1833, his biography of Rammohun Roy was published jointly with his refutations of Arnot's contentions, and entitled *Review of the Labours, Opinions and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy*.

A vivid description of Rammohun Roy's social life in London is given in the autobiography of the actress Fanny Kemble,<sup>75</sup> but an even clearer picture is to be had through the various letters written by Rammohun Roy himself to his various English friends.<sup>76</sup>

One of the interesting events of Rammohun Roy's stay in the Western world was a visit to France in the fall of 1832. Here he stayed but a brief time, returning to England before January, 1833. A brother of David Hare, who seems to have gone with him, states that Rammohun Roy was entertained more than once by King Louis Philippe.<sup>77</sup>

The constant strain of social life, added to financial harassments and uncongenial climatic conditions, was beginning to tell upon Rammohun Roy. After many delays he was at last able to accept the invitation of Miss Kiddell, Miss Castle and Dr. Lant Carpenter to visit Bristol. Rammohun Roy had been ill at various times during his English sojourn; now he felt that he must rest. His actual mission for the Emperor of Delhi had been successfully accomplished; he had seen the *suttce* petition defeated, and the charter of the East India Company came up for final discussion in the summer of 1833. In September of that year, he went to Stapleton Grove near Bristol, in poor health and financially worried.

Very shortly after his arrival at Stapleton Grove, Rammohun Roy fell ill with a fever. He was attended at this time by his friend J. B. Estlin, whose diary gives the most pertinent information concerning the Rajah's last days.<sup>78</sup> From it one learns that Rammohun Roy contracted a fever on Thursday, September 19, and that his illness became increasingly worse until the 27th, on

*in a discourse on the occasion of his Death; and a Biographical Memoir, to which is Subjoined an Examination of Some Derogatory Statements in the "Asiatic Journal", Bristol and London. (140 pp.)*

75. Fanny (i.e., Frances Anne) Kemble, *Record of a Girlhood, an Autobiography*, London, Beccles, 1878.—2d. ed., London, Beccles, 1879. Mrs. Le Breton in her *Memories of Seventy Years*, London, 18- (?), also gives accounts of Rammohun Roy's social activities.

76. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 203-207.

77. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 200. See also Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*

78. Published by Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*

which day he died. The nature of the ailment, though not known until after a post-mortem examination, seems to have been brain fever.

According to his expressed wish, Rammohun Roy was not buried in a Christian cemetery or with Christian services. His servants were made to witness the fact that all ceremonies were carried out in accordance with Hindu Brahmin caste requirements, and Miss Castle donated a plot of free-hold ground for his interment, which took place on 18th October. Ten years later, the land having passed out of the possession of the Castle family, the remains were removed to the cemetery of Arno's Vale, where they now rest. A suitable monument was erected, but not until nearly forty years later was a worthy inscription added, paying homage to the work of this great man.

Innumerable sermons and poems were the direct result of Rammohun Roy's sudden demise. Five of these sermons were published : One delivered by Dr. Lant Carpenter at Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, on October 6, 1833 ; that of Dr. Robert Aspland in the New Gravel Pit Meeting, Hackney, October 6, 1833 ; the sermon of John Scott Porter at the Meeting House of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, November 10 ; that by the Reverend William Drummond at the Presbyterian Church of Strand Street, Dublin, October 27, and that by the Reverend W. J. Fox at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, London, October 14.<sup>79</sup>

But matters did not end here. At varying intervals during the following two or three years controversies arose over the question of whether or not Rammohun Roy was a Christian, and if so, to which sect he belonged. At various times, articles and tracts appeared on the subject.<sup>80</sup> Argument also arose over the contents of the various biographies that now began to appear, the most important being those of Sandford Arnot, Dr. Lant Carpenter, James Sutherland, and Montgomery Robert Martin. Arnot, in addition to his biography, had also published an autobiographical sketch of Rammohun Roy, which appeared in the *Athenæum*.<sup>81</sup> This controversy over the authenticity of the various biographies is of no great importance in the matter of Rammohun Roy's influence on American literature and thought, but the

79. In my "General Bibliography" (PART IV) will be found more exact dates and places of publication of these sermons, etc.

80. Details in my "General Bibliography".

81. "Addressed to Mr. Gordon of Calcutta in a letter to that gentleman." *Athenæum*, October 5, 1833. Also published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Literary Gazette*, etc.

subject of Rammohun Roy's religious affiliations is pertinent and must be briefly discussed here.

The Reverend William Jay and the Reverend Richard Warner stated that Rammohun Roy was a convert to Evangelical religion, while the Reverend John Foster declared that Rammohun Roy had made a virtual confession just before his death of his belief in the divine authority of Christ.<sup>82</sup> Mr. Estlin's diary, on the other hand, records Rammohun Roy's "disbelief in the Divinity, but acceptance of the Divine Mission of Jesus". All this confusion is cleared away by a remark made by Rammohun Roy, before he left for England, to Babu Nanda Kisor Bose. Rammohun Roy seems to have realized that numerous sects would claim him after his death, that "Mohammedans would call him a Mohammedan, that Hindus would call him a Vedantic Hindu, the Christians, a Unitarian Christian." But, adds Babu Nanda Kisor Bose, "he really belonged to no sect. His religion was Universal Theism."

As he believed this principle to be the quintessence of every religion, he was able to approach the advocates of the most different creeds with a sympathy and an emphasis on points of agreement which they could only interpret as complete adhesion.<sup>83</sup>

It is apparent that Rammohun Roy, after coming in contact with western Christianity in England and France, came to feel that it certainly did not produce the epitome of perfection in society. He even went so far as to say :

If I were to settle with my family in Europe, I would never introduce them to any but religious persons, and amongst them only would I select my friends.<sup>84</sup>

He became increasingly dissatisfied with European society, and his attitude toward Unitarianism, too, underwent a change. As Arnot says, Rammohun Roy

evidently now began to suspect that the Unitarian form of Christianity was too much rationalized [or sophisticated, perhaps, I may say] to be suitable to human nature. He remarked in the Unitarians a want of that fervour of zeal and devotion found among other sects, and felt doubts whether a system appealing to reason only was calculated to produce a permanent influence on mankind.<sup>85</sup>

82. Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*.

83. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 220.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 222.

85. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 222.

How much faith may be placed in the statements of such a man as Sandford Arnot is questionable, but it seems certain that Rammohun Roy, although he at times leaned towards Christianity, remained with that religion merely long enough to become familiar with its ethical and moral standards, with purpose to introduce them into his own Hinduism. Rammohun Roy's whole religious life, as has been stated, was organized for the primary purpose of ridding the Hindu religion of polytheism.

Rammohun Roy's shift in his religious attitude is best stated by Miss Collet.

At the outset his Theism was intellectually not far from the Deism of last century; in the end it was religiously not far from the spirit of Christianity. In the earlier stages of his emancipation, his faith seemed to differ little from the fictitious "natural religion" of the eighteenth century philosophers, save for a strong infusion of oriental passion. Towards the close we see him turning with weary disgust from the fanciful abstractions of the speculative intellect to the dynamic facts of human nature and human history. How much further he would have moved in the direction of positive religion if his life had been prolonged for any considerable period, it is idle to conjecture. The theological transition which lasted all his life was at his death left incomplete. We may not guess at its completion. It is enough for us to observe its direction.<sup>86</sup>

These conclusions as to the inner movement of Rammohun Roy's mind suggest his place in history :

His own career of constant but incomplete transition constituted him the leader and the instrument of a kindred transition among his fellow-countrymen. . . . Rammohun Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned...between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary suffering, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment. . . . He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock, in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized Oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European... We shall find that he leads the way...towards a civilization which is neither Western, nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both.<sup>86</sup>

## **PART II**

**THE WORKS OF RAMMOHUN ROY  
AND PERIODICALS CONTAINING  
ARTICLES DEALING WITH HIM :**

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## INTRODUCTION TO PART II

On the basis of the brief discussion of the life of Rammohun Roy, given in the preceding pages, there is here presented a detailed Bibliography of works written by and about him. Section A of this Bibliography lists the works written by Rammohun Roy: first, editions of separate works (in Bengali, Sanskrit, and English) published in India, and editions of collected works published in India; second, editions published in England; third, editions published in America; fourth, in Germany; and fifth, in Holland.

Section B of this Bibliography lists periodicals containing articles dealing with Rammohun Roy: first, English periodicals published in India; second, English periodicals published in England; third, American periodicals; and fourth, French periodicals that circulated in the United States.

In a subsequent division of this Essay, Part III, the accessibility of the American public to this material will be considered, with a view to arriving at a conclusion as to Rammohun Roy's possible influence on American thought in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The immediately following List of Libraries consulted in the preparation of this Bibliography includes a system of symbols which are used throughout this study whenever the location of a work is indicated.

## LIST OF LIBRARIES CONSULTED

AND SYMBOLS USED FOR THEIR NAMES

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Date of founding</i>
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>		
CtY	Yale University Library, New Haven	1700
CtY-CS	Calliopean Society Library in Yale	17-?
CtY-L	Linonian Society Library in Yale	1766 ?
CtY-B	Brothers Library in Yale	1766 ?
CtY-M	Moral Library in Yale	17-?
AOS	American Oriental Society Library in Yale	1842
CtW	Wesleyan University Library, Middleton	1833
CYMI	Young Men's Institute, Hartford	1838 ?
<b>MAINE</b>		
MeB	Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick	1802
MeB-A	Atheneaum Society of Bowdoin College	
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>		
MBY	Boston Young Men's Society, Boston	Before 1833
MH	Harvard College Library, Cambridge	1764
MH-A	Andover Theological Seminary Library, Andover (Now in Cambridge, Mass.)	1818 ?
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston	
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston	
MWA	American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester	1812
MUS	Unitarian Society Library, Boston	
MMA	Mercantile Library Association, Boston	1820
MS	Massachusetts State Library (formerly the Library of the General Court), Boston	Before 1831
MAT	Atheneaum of Boston, Boston	1807
MAS	Atheneaum of Salem, Salem	1810
MAA	American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston	
MF	Franklin Typographical Society Library, Boston	1824
MICC	Irving Circulating Library, Boston	Before 1836
ML	Lexington Social Library, Lexington	Before 1831
MSCC	Suffolk Circulating Library, Boston	Before 1822
MBCC	Boylston Circulating Library, Boston	Before 1830

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Date of founding</i>
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MASSACHUSETTS—(*conid.*)

<b>MCRC</b>	Christian Register Office Library (General Theological Circulating Library)	1822 ?
<b>MBC</b>	Congregational Library, Boston	1853
<b>MBS</b>	Boston Library Society, Boston	1794 ?
<b>MAC</b>	Amherst College Library, Amherst	1820 ?
<b>MNH</b>	Boston Society of Natural History, Boston	
<b>MSM</b>	Salem Mechanics Library, Salem	1820
<b>MW</b>	Williams College Library, Williamstown	

## MARYLAND

<b>MdB</b>	Baltimore Library Company, Baltimore	1796
<b>MdS</b>	Library of the State of Maryland, Baltimore	

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

<b>NhD</b>	Dartmouth College Library, Hanover	1773 ?
<b>NhD-F</b>	Fraternity Library in Dartmouth College	
<b>NhD-S</b>	Social Friends Library in Dartmouth College	
<b>NhP</b>	Portsmouth Atheneum, Portsmouth	

## NEW YORK

<b>NAS</b>	New York State Library, Albany	1818
<b>NHS</b>	New York Historical Society, New York City	1804
<b>NN</b>	New York Public Library, New York City	
<b>NNC</b>	Columbia University Library, New York City	1757
<b>NNU</b>	Union Theological Seminary Library, New York City	1836
<b>NMT</b>	General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen (Mercantile Library), New York City	1785
<b>NS</b>	New York Society Library, New York City	1754
<b>NT</b>	General Theological Seminary Library, New York City	1820 ?

## OHIO

<b>OKT</b>	Theological Seminary of Kenyon College, Gambier	
<b>OM</b>	Miami University Library, Oxford	Before 1833

## PENNSYLVANIA

<b>A</b>	American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia	1743
<b>AP</b>	Apprentices Library, Philadelphia	1820
<b>AS</b>	Academy of Arts and Sciences, Philadelphia	1812
<b>At</b>	Atheneum of Philadelphia, Philadelphia	1814

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Date of founding</i>
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**PENNSYLVANIA—(contd.)**

<b>F</b>	Friends' Library, Philadelphia	1755
<b>Fi</b>	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia	
<b>H</b>	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia	1824
<b>L</b>	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia	1740
<b>LI</b>	Loganian Library in the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia	1794
<b>M</b>	Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia	1785
<b>PA</b>	Allegany College Library, Meadville	1820 ?
<b>PP</b>	University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia	Before 1800

**RHODE ISLAND**

<b>RHCC</b>	James Hammond's Circulating Library, Newport	Before 1823
<b>RPA</b>	Providence Atheneum, Providence	1837
<b>RPB</b>	Brown University Library, Providence	1800 ?
<b>RPB-P</b>	Phleremenian Society of Brown University	
<b>RPB-U</b>	United Brothers Society Library of Brown University	
<b>RRA</b>	Redwood Library and Atheneum, Newport	1730

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

<b>SCC</b>	Charleston Circulating Library, Charleston	Before 1819
<b>SCS</b>	Charleston Library Society, Charleston	1748
<b>SCU</b>	Charleston Union Library	1820

**VERMONT**

<b>Vu</b>	University of Vermont Library, Burlington	1800
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**VIRGINIA**

<b>VU</b>	University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville
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**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

<b>DLC</b>	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.	1800
<b>DLC-S</b>	Library of the State Department, Washington, D. C.	
<b>DW</b>	Washington Library Company, Washington, D. C.	

## A. THE WORKS OF RAMMOHUN ROY :

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN, ENGLISH, AMERICAN,  
GERMAN, AND DUTCH EDITIONS

### 1. INDIAN EDITIONS

#### Separate Works published in India

##### A. *In Persian* :\*

1. *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, with an introduction in Arabic. Murshidabad, 1804.
2. *Manazarat-ul-Adyan*. Murshidabad (?), 18-? [No copy of this book has yet been traced, says U. N. Ball.]
3. *Mirat-ul-Ukhbar*. Calcutta, 1822-1823. [Weekly periodical.]

##### B. *In Bengali and Sanskrit* :\*

1. *Vedanta Grantha*. Calcutta, 1815.  
Library : CtY. acquired 1859.
2. *Vedanta Sara*. Calcutta, 1816.
3. *Talavakara Upanishad*. Calcutta, 1816.
4. *Isopanishad*. Calcutta, 1816.
5. *Kathopanishad*. Calcutta, 1817.
6. *Moondukopanishad*. Calcutta, 1817.
7. *Mandukya-Upanishad*. Calcutta, 1817.
8. *Bhattacharyer Sahit Vichar*, Calcutta, 1817.
9. *Sahamaran Bishaye Prabartak O Nibartaker Pratham Sambad*. Calcutta, 1818.
10. *Sahamaran, Dwitiya Sambad*, Calcutta, 1818.
11. *Sahamaran, Tritiya Pustak*. Calcutta, 1829.
12. *Gayatrir Artha*. Calcutta, 1818.
13. *Gayatrya Paramopasana Vidhanam*. Calcutta, 1827. [Sanskrit and Bengali.]
14. *Goswamir Sahit Vichar*. Calcutta, 1818.
15. *Subrahmanya Sastrir Sahit Vichar*. Calcutta, 1820. [Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bengali.]
16. *Kavitakarer Sahit Vichar*. Calcutta, 1820.
17. *Sambad Kaumudee*, Calcutta, 1821.  
[Weekly periodical in Bengali.]
18. *Brahman Sebadhee*, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Calcutta, 1821.
19. *Padre O Sishya Sambad*. Calcutta, 1821.
20. *Chari Prasner Uttar*. Calcutta, 1822.

\* The Persian, Bengali, and Sanskrit works are cited as listed by U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, pp. i, ii.

21. Pathya-Pradan. Calcutta, 1823.
22. Prarthana-Patra. Calcutta, 1823.
23. Brahmanishtha Grihasther Lakshan. Calcutta, 1826.
24. Kayasther Sahit Madyapan Bishayak Vichar. Calcutta, 1826.
25. Bajra-Soochee. Calcutta, 1827. [Sanskrit and Bengali.]
26. Brahma Sangeet. Calcutta, 1828.
27. Brahmopasana. Calcutta, 1828.
28. Anushthan. Calcutta, 1829.
29. Gaudiya Vyakaran. Calcutta, School Book Society, 2 editions, 1833, 1856.
30. Kularnava Tantra. Calcutta (?). [Sanskrit.]
31. Kshudra Patree. Calcutta (?).
32. Atmanatma Vivek. Calcutta (?). [Sanskrit and Bengali.]

C. *In English : \**

(1815) 1. The Bongalee Translation of the Vedant [or rather, an English version by Rammohuna Raya of his Bengali essay, founded upon select passages cited from the Vedanta-Sutras of Badarayana], or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical Theology, with a preface by the translator. Calcutta, Ferris and Company, 1815.

Libraries :

C+Y (Date 1815 clearly shown.)

British Museum (Date represented as 1816 ?)

(1816) 2. Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant or the Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical Theology ; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that He Alone is the Object of Propitiation and Worship. Calcutta, 1816, 14 pp. 1818, 21 pp.

Libraries :

MHi (Acquired May 25, 1885.)

MAT (Acquired before 1876.)

MAT (Calcutta, 1816 ; acquired 1818.)

3. Translation of the Cena [Kena] Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda ; according to the gloss of the celebrated Shankaracharya : establishing the

\* *List of English works after Amal Home, U. N. Ball, S. D. Collet, H. C. Sarkar, Catalogue of the British Museum, and the writer's own research.*

Unity and the Sole Omnipotence of the Supreme Being ; and that He Alone is the Object of Worship. Calcutta. Philip Pereira, Hindooostanee Press, 1816, 1823. vii, 11 pp.

Libraries :

MHi (Calcutta 1823 ed., acquired May 25, 1885.)  
 MAT (Calcutta 1816 ed., acquired before 1876.)  
 MAT (Calcutta 1816 ed.)  
 CtY (Calcutta 1816 ed.)  
 British Museum (2 copies.)

4. Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant, likewise a Translation of the Cena Upa-nishad, and Notes (Anonymous). Calcutta. 1816. India Office Library, London.

5. Translation of the Ishopanishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajoor Ved ; according to the Commentary of the celebrated Shankaracharya ; establishing the Unity and Incomprehensibility of the Supreme Being ; and that His Worship alone can lead to Eternal Beatitude. Calcutta, Philip Pereira, Hindooostanee Press, 1816. xxii, 8 pp.

Libraries :

MAT (Calcutta 1816 ed.)  
 British Museum (2 copies.)

(1817) 6. A Defence of Hindoo Theism in Reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras. Calcutta, 1817. 29 pp. Republished by the *Tuttuobodheneey Sobha*. 1844. 15 pp.

Libraries :

MH (Without postscript. Indicated on title page as "gift of the author." From the library of Charles E. Norton.)

MH (With postscript. From Professor A. Norton, 1843.)

L (Acquired with a group of pamphlets from England some time between 1831 and 1835.)

MHi (Acquired May 25, 1885.)

MAT (Calcutta 1844 ed., acquired before 1876.)

MAT (Calcutta 1817 ed., 2 copies.)

7. A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vedas in reply to An Apology for the Present State of Hindoo Worship. Calcutta, 1817, 58 pp. Republished by the *Tuttuobodheneey Sobha*, 1844. 25 pp.

Libraries :

MH (Calcutta 1817 ed. ; from Professor A. Norton, 1843.)

MAT (Calcutta 1844 ed., 3 copies.)

MHi (Calcutta 1844 ed., acquired May 25, 1885.)

(1818) 8. Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive, from the original Bungla. Calcutta, November, 18, 1818.

Library :

MAT (No author's name, city, or publisher appears.)

(1819) 9. Translation of the Moonduk Opunishad of the Uthurvu-Ved, according to the gloss of the celebrated Shunkuracharyu. Calcutta, D. Lankheet, Times Press, 1819. 25 pp.

Libraries :

MAT (Calcutta 1819 ed.)

MHi (Calcutta 1819 ed., acquired May 25, 1885 from G. Ticknor.)

10. Translation of the Kut'h-Opunishad of the Ujoor-Ved, according to the gloss of the celebrated Sunkuracharyu. Calcutta, 1819. 40 pp.

Libraries :

MHi (Calcutta 1819 ed., acquired May 25, 1885 from G. Ticknor.)

MAT (No date or city given.)  
British Museum.

(1820) 11. An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahmunical Observances. Calcutta, 1820. Republished by the *Tuttuobodhney Sobra*, 1844.

Libraries :

MHi (Calcutta 1820 ed., acquired May 25, 1885 from G. Ticknor.)

MAT (Calcutta 1844 ed.)

12. A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, February 26, 1820. 50 pp.

Library :

MAT (Calcutta 1820 ed.)

13. The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness; extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the four evangelists. With translations into Sungscrit and Bengalee. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, 1820. iv, 82 pp.

Library :

MAT (Calcutta 1820 ed., 2 copies.)

14. An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus," by A Friend of Truth. Calcutta, 1820. 20 pp.

Libraries :

MHi (Calcutta 1820 ed., acquired May 25, 1885,  
from G. Ticknor.)  
MCRC (Advertised for sale in *Christian Register*, beginning April 29, 1826.  
Calcutta 1820 ed. (?) Dispersed)  
MAT (Calcutta 1820 ed., 2 copies)

(1821) 15. The Brahmunical Magazine, or the Missionary and the Brahmun, being a vindication of the Hindoo religion against the attacks of Christian Missionaries, I, II, III. Calcutta, 1821, 1823, 1827. Signed "Shivaprasad Surma."

Library :

MCRC (Calcutta 1821 ed., received about  
February 14, 1823. No. I, II, and III.  
Dispersed.)

16. Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1821. 173 pp.

Libraries :

MAT (Calcutta 1821 ed., 2 copies.)  
MCRC (On hand by June 7, 1821.)  
MHi (Calcutta 1821 ed., acquired May 25, 1885,  
from G. Ticknor)  
British Museum (Calcutta 1821 ed.)

(1822) 17. Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance, with a preface by Rama Prasad Roy. Calcutta, Unitarian Press, 1822. Calcutta, 1856.

Libraries :

MAT (Calcutta 1822 ed.)  
British Museum (Calcutta 1822 ed.)  
British Museum (Calcutta 1856 ed.)

(1823) 18. The Brahmunical Magazine, or the Missionary and the Brahmun, No. IV. Calcutta, 1823, 1827.

19. Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the One True God. Calcutta, 1823. Signed "Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor."

Library :

MCRC (Received before May 7, 1824.)

20. A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity against the Schismatic Attacks of R. Tytler, Esq., M. D., by Ram Doss. Calcutta, S. Smith and Company, Hurkaru Press, 1823.

21. Petitions against the Press Regulations.  
(a) Memorial to the Supreme Court.  
(b) Appeal to the King in Council.  
Calcutta, 1823.

22. A Letter on English Education to His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council. Calcutta, 1823.

23. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." Calcutta, Dhurmtollah, Unitarian Press, January 30, 1823. vii, 379 pp.

## Libraries :

MH (Calcutta 1823 ed.)

MAT (Calcutta 1823 ed.)

24. A Dialogue between a Missionary and Three Chinese Converts. Calcutta, 1823.

(1824) 25. A Letter to the Reverend Henry Ware on the Prospects of Christianity in India. Calcutta, 1824, 2d ed., (1st Indian edition.)

(1825) 26. Translation of a Sanscrit Tract on Different Modes of Worship. Calcutta, 1825.

(1826) 27. Bengalee Grammar in the English Language. Calcutta, Dhurmtollah, Unitarian Press, 1826.

## Libraries :

DLC

MH (Calcutta 1826 ed. From the Divinity School to Harvard College Library ; presented to the Divinity School by Dr. Joseph Tuckerman.)  
British Museum (Calcutta 1826 ed.)

(1827) 28. A Translation of a Sunskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship, esteemed by those who believe in the revelation of the Veds as most appropriate to the nature of the Supreme Being. Calcutta, 1827. *Tuttuobodheney Sobha*, 1844.

(1828) 29. Answer of a Hindoo to the Question, "Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of worship instead of the numerously attended established churches?" Calcutta, 1828.

Library :

MCRC (Received by June 7, 1828. Dispersed.)

30. Petition to the Government against Regulation III of 1828 for the Resumption of Lakheraj Lands. Calcutta, 1828.

(1829) 31. The Universal Religion : Religious Instruction founded on Sacred Authorities. Calcutta, 1829.

(1830) 32. The Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj. Calcutta, 1830.

33. Abstract of the Arguments Regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite. Calcutta, 1830.

34. Essays on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal. Calcutta, 1830.

35. Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. *Bengal Hurkaru*, September to November, 1830. Calcutta.

36. Address to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, upon the passing of the Act for the Abolition of the Suttee. Calcutta, 1830.

(1831) 37. Counter-petition to the House of Commons to the Memorial of the Advocates of Suttee. Calcutta, 1831.

D. Appendix : *Miscellaneous Works and Items of Uncertain Authenticity* :

1. Unitarian Hymns (1815-31 ?), Calcutta. Hymns written in Bengali. One was translated by a Baptist missionary. *Christian Reformer*, Vol. IV, p. 45 (182-?).

2. Strictures on the Present System of Hindu Monotheism. Calcutta, 1823-1828 (?). Signed "Brójmohun Majumdar." [According to Jogendra Chunder Ghose, *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, Eshan C. Bose, 1885-1887, this tract is probably by Rammohun Roy, he at the time assuming the name of his associate Brojmohun Majumdar. If the tract is not actually

written by Rammohun Roy, it is at least so minutely inspired by him as to be almost his.]

3. Present to the Believers in One God [Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin], translated for the first time from the Persian into English by Maulvi Obaidullah El Obaide. Appears in J. C. Ghose's edition of the *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, Eshan C. Bose, 1906.
4. A Review of the Moonduck Oopanishad, translated into English by Rammohun Roy. To which is prefixed an Essay on Religion (by Krishna Mohana Vandyopadhyaya.) Calcutta, 1833.

Library :  
British Museum.

5. Brief Remarks on the Rights of Hindoo Females, the Interest and Care which the Ancient Legislators took in their comfort, and the Laws introduced by the Moderns for their complete privation. [London, *Oriental Herald*, Vol. X, pp. 251-258 (1826).] 2d ed., Calcutta, 1826.
6. Various Lectures, Addresses, and Letters. The letters are written to Dr. Rees of London, Miss Kiddell, Miss Castle, John Digby, James Silk Buckingham, Mrs. Woodford of Brighton, Willian Rathbone of London, Mr. Woodford, Mr. J. B. Estlin, the Reverend William Ware, Joseph Tucker-man, and others.
7. Yisupranita Hitopadesa. [Bengali translation of "The Precepts of Jesus".] Calcutta, Rakhal das Haldar, 1859.
8. Preface to the Translation of the Ishopanishad. Calcutta, *Tuttnobodhney Sobha*, 1844. 12 pp.

Library :  
MAT

II. Collected Works published in India (including republi-cations) :

1. Bengalee Works collected and published privately for the first time by Baboo Annodaparsaud Bonerjee. [Announcement in *Calcutta Courier*, January 6, 1840, quoted by Brajendra Nath Banerji in his "News

about Rammohun Roy from Contemporary Newspapers," *Indian Messenger*, March 20, 1932. [Reference : *The Father of Modern India* Part II, p. 141.]

2. Selections from Several Books of the Vedanta, translated from the Original Sanskrit by Raja Rammohun Roy. Calcutta, 1844. [Reference : *The Father of Modern India* Part II, p. 142.]
3. The *Tuttuobodheney Sobha* (Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, President) republished most of the Works of Rammohun Roy in Bengali and English on the Upanishads and the Vedanta, during the years 1840-1844 and 1872. [Reference : *The Father of Modern India* Part II, p. 142.]
4. The *Tuttuobodheney Patrika* (Akshaya Kumar Datta, editor) republished most of the Rajah's Bengali Works, 1840—. [Reference : *Amal Home*.]
5. *Panchopanishad* (a collection of five Upanishads, viz., Katha, Vajasaneya [i.q. Isa], Talavakara [i.q. Kena], Mundaka, and Mandukya). Sanskrit text with Bengali explanations based on Sankara's commentary. Calcutta, 1848. [Reference : *The Father of Modern India* Part II, p. 142.]
6. Rajnarayan Bose and Ananda Chunder Vedantavagish, editors, *The Complete Works of Rammohun Roy*, in Bengali. Calcutta, 1873-1880.
7. Jogendra Chunder Ghose, editor. *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, with an introduction by the editor. Calcutta, Eshan Chunder Bose, Oriental Press, Bhowanipore, 1885, 1st vol.; Aruna Press, Bhowanipore, 1887, 2nd vol. London agents: Williams and Norgate.

Library :  
British Museum (2 copies.)

8. Jogendra Chunder Ghose, editor, *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, including some additional letters and an English translation of the Raja's *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, with an introduction by Ramananda Chatterjee, Allahabad, Panini Office, 1906. 2 Vols.

Library :  
NNU

9. G. H. Natesan, *Rammohun Roy, His Life, Writings, and Speeches, Madras*, G. H. Natesan and Company, 1925.

Libraries :

MH  
NN  
NNC

10. H. C. Sarkar, *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, Brahmo Mission Press, 1928. Vol. I. Brahmo Classics, Centenary Edition.

Libraries :

MH  
NNC

## 2. EDITIONS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND

(1816) 1. Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that He Alone is the Object of Propitiation and Worship. London, 1816.

2. Translation of the Kut'h Oopunishud of the Ujoor-Ved. London, 1816.

3. Translation of the Ishopunishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Veda. London, 1816.

(1817) 4. Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; likewise a Translation of the Cena Upa-nishad; with a preface by John Digby and a letter addressed to him by Rammohun Roy. London, J. and T. Hoitt and Company, 1817. 36 pp.

5. A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds; in Reply to an Apology for the Present State of Hindoo Worship. London, 1817.

(1818) 6. Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive; from the original Bungla. London 1818.

(1819) 7. Translation of the Moonduk-Oopunishad, one of the Chapters of the Uthurvu Ved. London, 1819.

(1820) 8. An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahminical Observances. London, 1820.

9. A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive. London, 1820.

(1822) 10. Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. London 1822.

(1823) 11. The Precepts of Jesus—the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists, to which are added the First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public, in reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Serampore, with a preface by Thomas Rees. London, 1823.

12. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." London, Hunter, 1823.

(1824) 13. The Precepts of Jesus—the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists, to which are added the First, Second, and Final Appeal to the Christian Public, in reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Serampore. Reprinted by the Unitarian Society and sold by R. Hunter, 1824. 2d ed., with a memoir compiled from the *Monthly Repository*, the preface by Thomas Rees, etc., and a picture. London, John Mardon, 1834.

## Libraries :

MH (London 1824 ed. From James Walker, ex-president of Harvard, class of 1814.)

MH (London 1834 ed. From Charles Pickering, class of 1823.)

MH (London 1834 ed.)

MHi (London 1834 ed.)

CtY (London 1824 ed.)

14. Translation of the *Cena Upanishad*, one of the Chapters of the *Sama Veda*. London, 1824.

(1825) 15. Answers to Queries by the Reverend H. Ware, of Cambridge, United States, printed in "Correspondence relative to the Pros-

pects of Christianity, and the Means of promoting its Reception in India." London, C. Fox, 1825.

(1826) 16. Brief Remarks on the Rights of Hindoo Females, the Interest and Care which the Ancient Legislators took in their Comfort and the Laws Introduced by the Moderns for their Complete Privation. London, *Oriental Herald*, Vol. X, pp. 251-258 (1826).

(1827) 17. A Translation into English of a Sungskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship ; esteemed by those who believe in the Revelation of the Veds as most appropriate to the Nature of the Supreme Being, London, 1827.

18. A defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras. London, 1827.

(1830) 19. Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite. London, 1830.

(1832) 20. Essay on the Right of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal. With an Appendix containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. Calcutta, 1830. London, Smith, Elder, and Company, 1832, 2 editions. 70 pp.

Libraries :

MAT (London 1832, 1st ed.)

MS (London 1832, 2d ed.)

British Museum (London 1832, 2d ed.)

21. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, and of the General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants, as submitted in Evidence to the Authorities in England. With Notes and illustrations ; also a brief preliminary Sketch of that Country, elucidated by a map. London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1832.

Libraries :

MAT (London 1832 ed., acquired just after publication.)

L (London 1832 ed., acquired just after publication.)

NNC (London 1832 ed., acquired just after publication.)

British Museum (London 1832 ed., acquired just after publication.)

This work consists of :

- (a) Preliminary Remarks.
- (b) Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India. [September 19, 1831.]
- (c) Questions and Answers on the Revenue System of India. [August 19, 1831.]
- (d) A Paper on the Revenue System of India. [August 19, 1831.]
- (e) Answers to Additional Queries respecting the Condition of India. [September 28, 1831.]
- (f) Appendix to the Exposition of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India.
- (g) Remarks on the Settlement in India by Europeans. [July 14, 1832.]
- (h) Extract from a Speech on the Settlement of Europeans in India.

(1832) 22. Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some Controversial Works in Brahminical Theology. London, Parbury, 1832. 2d ed., London, 1832.

Libraries :

- CtY (London 1832, 2d ed.)
- MH (London 1832, 2d ed., acquired in 1842.)
- MAT (London 1832, 2d ed.)

This collection includes :

- (a) Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant, etc.
- (b) Translation of the Moonduk-Oopunishad of the Uthurvu-Ved, etc.
- (c) Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda, etc.
- (d) Translation of the Ishopanishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Veda, etc.
- (e) Translation of the Kut'h-Opunishud, one of the Chapters of the Ujoor Ved, etc.

- (f) A Translation into English of a Sungskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship, etc.
- (g) A Defence of Hindoo Theism.
- (h) Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds, etc.
- (i) An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahminical Observances.
- (j) Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive.
- (k) A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive.
- (l) Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite.
- (m) Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance.

(1833) 23. Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmans, as founded on the Sacred Authorities. Calcutta. 2d ed., London, Nichols and Sons, 1833. 15 pp.

Library :  
MAT

24. Autobiographical Sketch, addressed to Mr. Gordon of Calcutta. *Atheneaum Magazine*, October 5, 1833; *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Literary Gazette*, and others, 1833. Included in Lant Carpenter's *Review*, Bristol and London, 1833; in Mary Carpenter's *Last Days...of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London, Trubner, 1866; in S. D. Collet's *Raja Rammohun Roy*, London, 1900; and in other works.

### 3. AMERICAN EDITIONS

1. Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India. Cambridge University Press, Hilliard and Metcalf, 1824.

## Libraries :

**MH** (Cambridge 1824 ed., 3 copies.)  
**MH-A** (Cambridge 1824 ed.)  
**MCRC** (Boston, Christian Register Office (?). 1824 ed. Acquired before July 30, 1824. The *Christian Register* states that Boston is the place of publication. No copy of this edition, if it existed, has been found. Probably there was no Boston Edition, but the fact that the Boston branch of Hilliard and the Metcalf handled the book caused *Christian Register* to assume that it was published in Boston.)

2. *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists, to which are added the first, and second appeals to the Christian Public in Reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Serampore.* New York, B. Bates, 1825. 318 pp. Reprinted from London edition. With preface by Thomas Rees and profile picture of Rammohun Roy.

## Libraries :

**MB** (New York 1825 ed., 2 copies.)  
**MAS** (New York 1825 ed.)  
**NMT** (New York 1825 ed.)  
**MCRC** (New York 1825 ed., acquired before May 6, 1826. Dispersed.)  
**MH**  
**MH-A** (New York 1825 ed.)  
**CYMI** (New York 1825 ed.)  
**MUS** (New York 1825 ed., possibly the same copy once in the **MCRC** collection.)

3. *Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus."* Boston (?), *Christian Register* Office (?), about April 29, 1826. [ This tract was advertised for sale by the *Christian Register* office from April 29, 1826, to July 8, 1826. It may be a London edition, probably that of Hunter, 1823, but in none of the six advertisements is it so indicated. No copy of an American edition of this work has so far been found. ]

4. *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists, to which are added the first and second and final appeals to the Christian Public in reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Seram-*

pore. Boston, *Christian Register Office*, 1828. 2 parts, 318 and 316 pp.

Libraries :

MCRC (Boston 1828 ed. In stock by March 22, 1828.)

MUS (Boston. 1828 ed. Possibly the same copy once in the MCRC collection.)

MH-A (Boston, 1828 ed.)

RPA

5. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." Boston, S. Manning, *Christian Register Office*, 1828. 316 pp. [ Found bound in most editions with the New York edition of "Precepts". ]

Libraries :

MB (2 copies.)

MAT

MH

6. A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as a Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity. Calcutta, 1823. Salem, Massachusetts, *Salem Courier*, 1828. Published in pamphlet form by the *Salem Courier*.

Library :

MH (From Charles Pickering, M. D., Class of 1823.)

7. Brief Extracts from Rammohun Roy's "Appeals." Philadelphia, Unitarian Association Publication, 183-? vi pp.  
[ This is possibly an excerpt torn from some publication. ]

Library :

MB (From Samuel A. Green.)

*Appendix :*

1. Address to the Members of Congress on the Abolition of Slavery. Washington, D. C. (?), 1830-1833 (?). [ This document on slavery is signed "Rammohun Roy," but the name is merely a pseudonym, as seen from the lines : "In closing this address, allow me to *assume* [ italics mine ] the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man, Rammohun Roy." ]

Libraries :

MB

MWA (Acquired before 1836.)

## 4. GERMAN EDITION

1. Auflösung des Wedant, oder der Auflösung aller Weds des berühmtesten Werke Braminischer Gottesgelahrtheit worin die Einheit des Hochsten Wesens dargethan wird, so wie auch dass Gottallein der Gegenstand der Verohnung und Verehrung seyn konne. Jena, 1817.

Library :  
British Museum.

## 5. DUTCH EDITION

1. Vertaling van Verscheidene voername Boeken, Pladtsen en Teksten van de Vedaas. Naar het Engelsch, door P. P. Rooda van Eysinga. Kampen, 1840.

Library :  
British Museum.

## B. PERIODICALS CONTAINING MATERIAL CONCERNING RAMMOHUN ROY

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I. English Periodicals Published In India

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1. Blavatsky, H. P., "An Appreciation of Rammohun Roy," Vol. IV, pp. 588-89, No. 9 (September, 1933).
2. Chatterjee, Ramananda, "India's Ambassador to the West," Vol. IV, pp. 589-597, No. 9 (September, 1933).
3. Christy, Arthur Edward, "Emerson's Oriental Reading," Vol. IV, pp. 597-601, No. 9 (September, 1933).

Libraries :  
NNC (complete)  
DLC (complete)

2. *Bengal Herald*. Calcutta, founded 1829.

Edited by Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, and Neel Rutton Halder. Vol. XXXII (?), 1820.

Library :  
MH

3. *Bengal Hurkaru*. Calcutta.

A Criticism of Sandford Arnot's Comments on Rammohun Roy. 1835.

4. *Brahmo Public Opinion*. Calcutta, founded March 1878.

The Development of Piety in the Brahmo-Samaj, August 4, 1881.

5. *Calcutta Courier*.

Criticism of the Memoirs of Rammohun Roy (published in England). 1835.

6. *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*. Calcutta, 1784-1823.

Notice of the founding of Rammohun Roy's early literary group. 1823.

Libraries :

NN  
BGS  
MH

7. *Calcutta Journal, or Political and Commercial Literary Gazette*. October-December, 1818.

1. Comment on an American review of Rammohun Roy's pamphlets. Vol. I, pp. 60-70 (?), 1818.

2. Excerpt from an American paper. Vol. I, p. 132 (October, 1818).

Library :

NN

8. *Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register*. Calcutta, 1830-1832.

1. Regulation for the Abolition of Suttee. Vol. I.

2. Hindoo Theism. [Concerns the founding of the Brahmo Samaj.] Vol. I.

Library :

NN

9. *Calcutta Review*. Calcutta, May 1844-1912, n. s. 1913-1920, 3rd series 1921—.

1. Literary Fruits of Missionary Labours. Vol. III, pp. 36-37 (1845.)

2. Memoir of Rammohun Roy. [Biography and extracts from his writings.] Vol. IV, pp. 355-393 (1845).

3. Transition States of the Hindu Mind. Vol. III, pp. 102-147 (1845). [See pp. 131-144 for reference to Rammohun Roy.]

4. Recent publications on the subject of Vedantism. Several tracts on Hindu theism, etc. Vol. III, p. xlvi (1845).
5. Vedantism : what is it ? Vol. IV, pp. 43-61 (1845). [A review of "Translation of several principal Books, passages, and texts of the Veds...", by Rammohun Roy, London, 1832. Partly reprinted in Calcutta, 1845.]
6. Results of Missionary Labour in India. Vol. XVI, pp. 231-288 (October, 1851).
7. Mitter, Kissory Chand, Rammohun Roy. Vol. XLVII (1866). [A review of Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*].
8. Colbrooke, H. T., Philosophy of the Hindus. Vol. III (1837).
9. A review of Mary Carpenter's *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*. Vol. XLIV, pp. 219-234.

## Libraries :

NN (1-)  
 MH (1-Acquired 1846.)  
 NNC (1-n. s. [2-4] 8-.)  
 CfY (Broken 1-19 on.)  
 DLC (Broken.)  
 MB (Broken 1-121, then part. Since 1844-)  
 L (Complete.)  
 M (1-24.)

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10. *Christian Reformer*. Calcutta, May 9, 1823-1824. William Adam, Editor.
  1. Queries for the Serious Consideration of Trinitarians. Vol. I, p. 87 (May 12, 1823).
  2. Queries for the Serious Consideration of Trinitarians. Vol. III, p. 24 (1825).
11. *Delhi Gazette*. Delhi, founded 18-?
  1. Mission of Rammohun Roy in England. December 7, 1834.

12. *East and West Magazine*. Bombay, November 1901-1921.

1. Mozoomdar, Protap Chunder, "Professor Max Muller's Relation to India." Vol. I, pp. 92-96 (November, 1901).
2. Sen, The Reverend Promotho Loll, "Keshub Chunder Sen: a Study." Vol. I, pp. 710-725 (May, 1902).
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6. Cobbe, Frances Power, "Keshub Chunder Sen (Letters to Miss Cobbe)." Vol. III, pp. 1008-1022 (September, 1903).
7. Macnicol, The Reverend N., "Raja Rammohun Roy." Vol. III, pp. 1137-1147 (November, 1904).
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9. Mozoomdar, Protap C., "Reconstruction of the Brahmo Samaj." Vol. IV, pp. 387-388 (April, 1905).
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Libraries :

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 NNU (Vols. 1-3)  
 NN (Vols 4-[17]-21.)

13. *Englishman, The*. Calcutta. (Also called *The India Gazette*).

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2. (In *India Gazette*) A criticism of the memoirs published on Rammohun Roy, especially a criticism of the biography written by Dr. Lant Carpenter, 1835.

14. *Friend of India Magazine* [Baptist]. Serampore.

Monthly : founded in 1818.

Quarterly : founded in 1821.

Quarterly :—

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3. "On the Criminality of Burning Widows Alive, with a Brief View of what has already been published on this Subject". Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 254-284 (1822). [See p. 256 for reference to Rammohun Roy; a review of his work on the suttee in *Friend of India Monthly*, December, 1818.]
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5. A Review of Rammohun Roy's "Final Appeal to the Christian Public" as far as it impugns the Deity of Christ. Vol. III, No. 11, pp. 393-592 (1824).

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1. Seal, Dr. Sir Brajendranath, A Critical Study and Estimate of Rammohun Roy's Works. Vol. LI, pp. 609-610 (December 24, 1933.)
2. Seal, Dr. Sir Brajendranath, A Critical Study and Estimate of Rammohun Roy's Works. Vol. LI, pp. 624-626 (December 31, 1933.)
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2. Paul, K. T., An address at the grave of Rammohun Roy. Vol. XXVII, pp. 202-203 (1920). Reprinted from *Young Men of India*.
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4. Bagchi, Dwijendra Narayan, "Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Non-cooperation." Vol. XXX, pp. 90-91 (1921). Editor's "Note," p. 92.
5. Sarkar, Benay K., 'Messages from France.' (*Modern Review*, Vol. XXIX, June, 1921) A review. Vol. XXX, p. 130 (1921).
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27. "Rammohun Roy on the value of Modern Knowledge." [ Notes, December 11, 1823, Memorial to Lord Amherst, and other letters. ] Vol. XLV, pp. 18-21 (1929).
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30. Banerji, Brajendra, "The Last Days of Raja Rammohun Roy." Vol. XLVI (October, 1929).
31. Banerji, Brajendra Nath, "Rammohun Roy's Engagement with the Emperor of Delhi." Vol. XLVII, pp. 53-55 (1930).
32. Banerji, Brajendra Nath, "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer." Vol. XLVIII, p. 664 (1930). Taken from the article by Banerji in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa*

*Research Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 154-156.

33. Banerji, Brajendra, "Rammohun Roy as a Journalist." Vol. XLIX, pp. 408-410, 507, 515 (April and May, 1931).

34. Banerji, Brajendra, "Rammohun Roy as a Journalist (Supplement)." Vol. L, pp. 138-139 (August, 1931).

35. Banerji, Brajendra Nath, "Rammohun Roy on the Disabilities of Hindu and Mohammedan Jurors." Vol. LI, pp. 619-621 (June, 1932).

36. Banerji, Brajendra Nath, "English Impressions of Rammohun Roy before his visit to England." Vol. LI, (March, 1932).

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38. Tagore, Rabindranath, "Rammohun Roy." Presidential Address before the Rammohun Roy Centenary Inaugural Meeting, Senate House, Calcutta, February 18, 1933. Vol. LIII, pp. 319-321 (1933).

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40. Rammohun Roy Centenary Notes. Vol. LIV, p. 113 (1933). From *Christian Register*, 1933.

41. Andrews, C. F. "Rammohun Roy." Vol. LIV, pp. 514-515 (1933).

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 DLC (Vols. 1-4, 35.)  
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1. Storrow, The Reverend E., A Treatise on the Doctrine of Trinity for Intelligent Hindus and Mohamedans. Published in Calcutta, C. Hay and Company, 1852.
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**Library :**

British Museum (1854, Vol. 3, No. 4.)

21. *Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany*, Calcutta 1823-1824, October-December, edited by William Adam [ See June 4, 1824 issue of *Christian Register*. ]

Editor of *India Gazette*, "Rammohun Roy." No. 10, July, 1824.

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3. Explanation of "Bhadrotsava," or whole day devotion peculiar to the Brahmo Samaj. No. 34 (1903).
4. Cobbe, Frances, "Keshub Chunder Sen." [ Letters ] No. 35 (1903). Also in the *East and West Magazine*, Vol. III. pp. 1008-1022 (1903).
5. "A Voice of Keshub—from his Mother's Lap in Heaven." No. 41 (1903).

6. Ghose, N. N. "Keshub Chunder Sen, his Influence." No. 43, (1903).
7. Anderson, Herbert, "Keshub Chunder Sen as a Social Reformer." No. 43, (1903).
8. Banerjee, Surendranath, "Estimate of Keshub Chunder Sen." No. 43, (1903).
9. "Keshub Chunder Sen's Place as a Reformer in India and the World at Large" [With a note on Rammohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj.] No. 43, p. 9, (1903).
10. "Onward, Forward, and Upward." [Concerns K. C. Sen.] No. 43, (1903).
11. Autobiography of Devendranath Tagore. [His relationship with Rammohun Roy discussed.] No. 6, (1904).
12. "Christ and the Brahmo Samaj." No. 14, (1904).
13. A review of Protap C. Mozoomdar's *The Emancipation of Women in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1904.
14. "The Patriarch of the Brahmo Samaj." Appeared also in the *Christian Register* and in the *Christian Life* (London). No. 37, (1904).
15. Celebration of the Rajah Rammohun Roy's Death." No. 38, (1904).
16. "Babu Keshub Chunder Sen." [On the root ideas of his life work. No. 43, (1904).]
17. Ghose, N. N. "Keshub Chunder Sen." No. 43, (1904).
18. Fraquahr, J. N. "Keshub Chunder Sen—an Appreciation." No. 32, (1904).
19. "Keshub Chunder Sen and the Brahmo Samaj." No. 44, (1903).

[The bibliography of articles in *Unity and the Minister* is not complete, since it is merely meant to illustrate the type of material contained in the publication. The material is not pertinent to Rammohun Roy, but deals with his followers.]

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London, 1785-1862. n. s. 1865-1923.

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Libraries :

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1. Roy, Rammohun, Bengali Translation of the Mandookya Uopunishad of the Uthurvn Ved. Vol. VI, No. 33, p. 177 (August, 1818).

2. Roy, Rammohun, Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda. Vol. VI, pp. 141-145 (August, 1818).

3. Roy, Rammohun, A review of a Bengali tract on the subject of suttee. Vol. VIII, p. 69 (July, 1819).

4. Notice of the publication of the works of Rammohun Roy, "All or any of which may be obtained at the Baptist Mission Press" :

(a) Translations of the Vedas.

(b) Three chapters of the different Vedas.

(c) Two Defences of the Monotheistical system.

(d) Two Conferences between an Advocate and an Opponent of the Practice of Burning Widows Alive.

(e) A Selection of the moral discourses of our Lord called "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to peace and happiness."

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8. Rammohun Roy, The Memorial presented to Justice MacNaghten by Rammohun Roy and five other Hindus. Vol. XVIII, p. 298 (September, 1824).
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11. Comment on Rammohun Roy's proposed trip to England. Vol. XXVIII, p. 758 (December, 1829).
12. The suit against Rammohun Roy as editor of the *Bengal Herald* for libel, February and March, 1830. Vol. XXIX, pp. 106, 123-126 (1830).
13. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Laws of Bengal." Vol. XXXII, p. 75 (February, 1831).
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15. "Entertainment of Rammohun Roy." Vol. XXXIII, pp. 236-237 (August, 1831).
16. "The Brahmo Somaj." Vol. XXXV, p. 13 (1832).
17. "Modern Hindoo Sects." Vol. XXXV, p. 174 (January, 1832).

18. Rammohun Roy, "The Revenue System of India." [A communication between Rammohun Roy and the Board of Control.] Vol. XXXV, pp. 220-234 (February, 1832).
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20. "Rammohun Roy and the King of Delhi." Vol. XXXVI, p. 129 (1832).
21. Abuse of Rammohun Roy by the *Bengal Hurkaru*, regarding his papers on the Judicial and Revenue systems. Vol. XXXVIII, p. 10 (September, 1832).
22. "Rammohun Roy at an Asiatic Society meeting." Vol. XXXIX, p. 224 (May, 1833).
23. Carpenter, Dr. Lant, "A Biographical Account of Rammohun Roy." Vol. XL, pp. 195-213 (September, 1833).
24. Arnot, Sandford, "Rammohun Roy." [A review of Dr. Carpenter's article and a reply to Carpenter's criticism of Arnot's article on Roy.] Vol. XL, pp. 287-290 (October, 1833).
25. "The Mission of Rammohun Roy to England." Vol. XLII, p. 90 (June, 1834).
26. "The Cerebral Character of Rammohun Roy." Vol. XLII, pp. 154-156 (May, 1834). Reprinted from the *Phrenological Journal*.
27. "The Late Rammohun Roy." Vol. XLIV, p. 24 (January, 1835).
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31. "The King of Delhi and Rammohun Roy." Vol. XLIX, p. 226 (December, 1836).
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**NNC** (Vol. 1-s. 3 Vol. 2)  
**CtY** (Vol. 1-s. 3 Vol. 2)  
**DLC** (Broken)  
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**NT** (1824-1826)

3. *Athenaeum Magazine, The*. London, 1828-1921; Boston, 1832—.

1. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property," London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1832. No. 225, p. 111 (February 18, 1832).
2. "The Rajah Rammohun Roy on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of British India" (London, Smith, Elder, and Company, 1832). [A short favorable comment.] No. 234, pp. 254-255 (April 21, 1832).
3. Mention of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, etc." (2d ed., London, Parbury, Allen and Company, 1832). [Short favorable comment.] No. 250, p. 518 (August 11, 1832).
4. Arnot, Sandford, "Biography of Rammohun Roy." [Includes Roy's autobiographical letter.] No. 310, p. 666-668 (October 5, 1833).
5. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus." [Unfavorable comment on the controversy.] No. 384, p. 184 (March 7, 1835).

## Libraries :

**CtY** (1828)  
 Complete at **MH**, **MB**, **NN**, **NNC**, **CtY**, **L**, **M**, **Fi**,  
 and others.

4. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Edinburgh, New York, etc., 1817—.

1. "Observations on the English Writings of the Brahmin Rammohun Roy. [Quotations] Vol. IV, pp. 141-148 (November, 1818).

Libraries :

Complete in all main libraries.

5. *Bristol Gazette*, Bristol, England, 18—?

1. Carpenter, Dr. Lant, "Biography of Rammohun Roy." October 2, 1833.
2. Poem on the interment of Rammohun Roy. October 2, 1833.

Libraries :

Unable to locate.

6. *Bristol Mercury*. Bristol, England, 1806-1901.

1. Carpenter, Dr. Lant, "Biography of Rammohun Roy." October, 1833. Reprinted from the *Bristol Gazette*, with "such additions as the object renders desirable."

Libraries :

Unable to locate.

7. *British Critic, Quarterly and Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*. London, 1793-1813, 1814-1843.

1. Review of the Reverend R. Heber's *Narrative of a Journey...through India*. Vol. IV, pp. 200-228 (July, 1828).

Libraries :

CtY (Vols. 1-2, 4)

DLC, NN, 1 (Complete)

NNC (Broken)

NNU (Broken)

MB (Vols. 1-18, n.s. 9, s. 4, vols. 30-34)

8. *British Quarterly Review*. London, 1845-1886, Boston.

1. Review of (a) Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1868; (b) Mary Carpenter's *Six Months in India*, London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1868; (c) *The Indian Mirror*, a weekly journal, Calcutta 1869. Vol. XLIX, pp. 510-542 (1869).
2. Collet, S. D., Letter in defence of K. C. Sen. Vol. XLIX (July, 1869).

3. Collet, S. D., *Brahmo Somaj, or the Theistic Church of India.* Vol. XLIX (April, 1869).

Libraries :

MAT (1845-1873)  
 CtY (Complete)  
 NN (Complete)  
 MB (Complete)  
 MH (Complete)  
 NNU (1[13-14], 83)  
 DLC (Complete)  
 L (1845-)

9. *Christian Inquirer.* London, 1860 (?)-1890 (?)

1. Collet, S. D., A plea for assistance in the gathering of her material on Rammohun Roy. November 4, 1882.

2. Death of Keshub Chunder Sen. Front Page. January 12, 1884.

Library :

NUS

10. *Christian Observer and Advocate.* London, 1802-1877.

1. Roy, Rammohun, A letter to the editor. Vol. XXXIV, pp. 669-670 (1834).

2. "Unitarian Assumptions." Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 669-670 (November-December, 1834).

Libraries :

MB (Complete)  
 NNU (Vols. 1-31)  
 DLC (Broken)  
 L (Complete)

11. *Christian Pioneer.* Glasgow, 1826-1845.

1. "Rammohun Roy." [Information about Roy from "private letters."] Vol. IV, p. 183 (1829-1830).

2. Rammohun Roy's Arrival in England." [With an account of his early years.] Vol. V, pp. 321-324 (May, 1831).

3. Rammohun Roy's speech at the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Vol. V, p. 395 (1831).

4. "Christianity in India." [Quotations from Roy's autobiography.] Vol. VI, pp. 179-185, 212-226 (1831).

Libraries :

MUS (1826-1832).  
 CtY (Vols. 12-19).

12. *Christian Reformer or New Evangelical Miscellany.* London, 1815-1820.

1. Letter from The Reverend T. Belsham ; introduction to a letter written by William Roberts of Madras. Vol. IV, p. 2 (1818).
2. "Unitarians in India." [A brief note on Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, p. 35.
3. "Rammohun Roy." Vol. XVI, p. 144 (1820). Quoted from the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, p. 282, by Mr. Buckingham.

Library :  
MUS

13. *Christian Reformer or Unitarian Magazine.* London, 1834-1863.

1. "Lines in Memory of Rammohun Roy." Vol. I, pp. 30-31 (1834).
2. Arnot, Sandford, "The Late Rajah Rammohun Roy's Remarks on some Passages Supposed to Relate to the Holy Ghost." [A letter to the editor.] Vol. I, pp. 36-39 (1834).
3. Carpenter, Dr. Lant, Dr. Carpenter on the literary character of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy. Vol. I, pp. 174-176 (1834).
4. "Lines on the Burial of the Rajah Rammohun Roy." [A poem signed "M.A.D."] Vol. I, p. 290 (1834).
5. [Sutherland], "East Indian Memoir of Rammohun Roy," with introduction by J. T. Rutt. Vol. I, pp. 589-602 (1834). Reprinted from the *India Gazette*. February 18, 1834.
6. Account of the ritual in honor of Rammohun Roy's death. Vol. I, p. 727 (1834). Reprinted from the *Sumachar Durpan*, Calcutta.
7. "Bishop Luscombe and Bishop Low." [An article directed against the *Christian Observer*.] Vol. I, p. 850 (1834).
8. "Indian Honors to the Late Rammohun Roy." Vol. II, pp. 60-61 (1835).

9. Letter from Rammohun Roy to William Alemander, dated July 16, 1831. Vol. III, p. 466 (1835).
10. "The Writings of Rammohun Roy." [A letter to the editor, suggesting a new edition of Roy's works.] Vol. IV, p. 360 (1837).
11. "To the Memory of Rammohun Roy." [A poem signed "J. L." Dated Kendal, December 12.] "Stapleton Grove." [A poem signed "M.A."] Vol. V, pp. 30-31 (1838).
12. "The Late Raja Rammohun Roy." (A verbatim quotation of the sections dealing with Roy in *The Reverend Scoresby's Memorial to His Son*, London, 1837.] Vol. V, pp. 466-471 (1838). Reprinted from the *Church of England Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 110 (June 23, 1838).
13. A review of the *Memoir of John, Bishop Estlin*, by himself. [P. 469 deals with Rammohun Roy.] Vol. XI n.s., pp. 461-481 (August, 1855).
14. A review of *The Autobiography of The Reverend William Jay...*, by George Redgord and John James, London, Hamilton, Adams and Company, 1854. Vol. XI n.s., pp. 197-213 (1855). [Pp. 209-210 deal with Rammohun Roy.]
15. A review of the *Memoir of the Late George Armstrong of Bristol*. Vol. XIV, pp. 1-18, 65-94 (1858). [Pp. 13, 86 deal with Rammohun Roy.]

Libraries :

MUS (1845-).  
 CfY (Vols 20-49).  
 MB (Vols. 6-11).  
 NN (n.s. vols. 1-16).  
 L (Complete).

14. *Christian Remembrancer*. London 1819-1856.

1. Williams [?], "Christianity and Hinduism." [A review of *Parameswara-Jnyana-goshti, a Dialogue of the Knowledge of the Supreme Lord*, Cambridge, Deighton, Bell and Company; London, Bell and Daldy Company, 1856. Contains the Cambridge University prize essay of

1847 for the best "refutation of Hinduism."] Vol. XXXV, pp. 81-129 (1858).

Libraries :

L (Complete)  
DLC (Complete)

15. *Contemporary Review*. London and New York, founded 1866.

1. Freemantle, The Reverend W. H., "The Brahma-Samaj and the Religious Future of India." [Deals with K. C. Sen and Rammohun Roy.] Vol. XV, pp. 67-80 (1870).
2. Collet, S. D., "Indian Theism; its Relation to Christianity." Vol. XV, pp. 230-245 (February, 1870).
3. Lethbridge, Raper, "The Vernacular Press of India." Vol. XXXVII, pp. 459-474 (March, 1880).
4. "The New Development of the Brahma Somaj." Vol. XL, pp. 570-584 (October, 1881).
5. Collet, S. D., "The Brahma-Somaj *versus* the 'New Dispensation'." Vol. XL, pp. 726-737 (1881).

Libraries :

NNC (Complete)  
NN (Complete)  
L (Complete)  
M (Complete)

16. *Court Journal*. London, founded 1829.

1. Martin, Montgomery Robert, "Biography of Rammohun Roy." Vol. V, p. 678 (October 5, 1833).
2. "The Late Rammohun Roy." [Signed "J. P."] Vol. V, p. 723 (October 26, 1833).

Libraries :

NN (1829-1838)  
MB (1833-1850)  
CtY (Vols. 1-18)  
DLC (1829-1840, 1850-)  
MH (1833-1860)  
V (Vols. 1-6)

17. *Dublin University Magazine*. Dublin and London,

1833-1877. Continued as the *University Magazine*.

1. "Brahmaism and the Brahma Samaj." Vol. LXXXI, pp. 249-269 (1873).

## Libraries :

NN	(Vols. 11-96)
NNC	(Vols. 17-95)
DLC	(Complete)
CtY	(Vols. 1 [82] 88-)
MB	(Complete)
L	(Complete)
M	(Complete)

18. *Edinburgh Review*. Edinburgh, New York, Boston, founded 1803.

1. A review of the Reverend R. Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through...India* ... London, 1828. Vol. XCVI, pp. 312-348 (October, 1828).
2. Heber, The Reverend R., Extracts from his *Narrative*. Vol. LXI, pp. 73-98 (1832-1833).
3. A review of the *Life of William Roscoe by his Son, Henry*. Vol. LXIII, pp. 65-85 (1833-1834).

## Libraries :

Complete in all main libraries.

19. *Fraser's Magazine*. London, 1830-1882.

1. "Wanted—a Religion for the Hindoos." Vol. IV, n. s. pp. 709-726 (December, 1871).

## Libraries :

Complete in NNC, NN, MB, DLC, L, MH.

20. *Gentlemen's Magazine*. London, 1731-1907.

1. Obituary of Rammohun Roy, October, 1833. [Contains quotations from the "Autobiography," and tells of Roy's work in France.] Vol. CLIV, pp. 364-368 (October, 1833).

## Libraries :

Complete in CtY, MB, MH, MHi L.

NNC (Vols. 1-143, then broken)

L (1732- )

MAT (1738-1874)

21. *Good Words*. London, 1863-1911.

1. The Bishop of Calcutta, "Eclecticism and Brahmoism." [Concerns the founding of the new school by Rammohun Roy and

Keshub Chunder Sen] Vol. XI. pp. 792-799 (November, 1870).

Libraries :

NNC (Vols. 1-43)  
 NNU (Vols. 1-3)  
 MH (Vols. 3-22)  
 MB (Vols. 1-47)  
 CtY (Vols. 1-[37])  
 L (Complete)  
 M (Complete)

22. *Library Gazette, The, or Journal of Belles Letters, Poetics and Fashion.* London, founded January, 1817.

1. A review of Abbe Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India*, No. 14 p. 181 (April 12, 1817).
2. A review of Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-clarence's *Journal of a Route across India...*, London, 1819, No. 125, pp. 385-386 (1819).
3. A review of Abbe Dubois' *Letters of the State of Christianity in India*, London, 1823. No. 340, pp. 481-482 (1823); No. 341, pp. 500-502.
4. A summary of Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness..., to which is added the First, Second, and Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Serampore," Calcutta, London reprint, Vol. VIII of Unitarian Tracts. No. 750, pp. 353-356 (June 4, 1831).
5. A portrait of Rammohun Roy. No. 750, p. 363 (1831).
6. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some Controversial Works of Brahminical Theology," 2d ed., London, Parbury, Allen and Company, 1832. No. 810, p. 536 (August 25, 1832).
7. A review of Henry Roscoe's *Life of William Roscoe*, London, Cadell; Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1833. No. 810, p. 360 (1833).

## RAMMOHUN ROY AND AMERICA

8. "Rammohun Roy." [Autobiographical Sketch.] No. 872, pp. 635-637 (October 5, 1833). Reprinted from London *Athenaeum*, October, 1833.
23. *Mirror of Literature, The.* London, 1822-1846; n.s. 1846-1849.
  1. "Memoir of Rammohun Roy." [Includes the autobiographical sketch.] Vol. XXII, pp. 225-230 (October 12, 1833).

Libraries :

NNC (Vols. 1-2)  
CtY (S.1, Vols. 1-2, vol. 4)  
DLC (Vol. 1-n.s. vol. 2)  
MH (Vol. 1-n.s. vol. 8)  
NN (Complete)  
L (Complete)  
MB (Vols. 1-10)

24. *Missionary Herald.* London, founded 1618.

1. Letter written by William H. Mill concerning Rammohun Roy. September, 1824, p. 301.

Libraries :

CtY (Vols. 1- )  
NNU (Vols. 41-46- )

25. *Missionary Register.* London, 1813-1855.

1. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Abridgement of the Vedant. . ." September, 1816, pp. 370-375.
2. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Baptist Missionary Society Report." September, 1817, pp. 366-370.
3. A review of a Hindoo tract against the burning of widows. [No author is given, but the numerous extracts quoted make it evident that the tract is by Rammohun Roy.] Vol. IV, pp. 171-175 (1820).

Libraries :

CtY (Complete)  
MH (1813-1815, 1821-1826)  
NN (1817-1824)  
NNU (Vols. 1-19, 22-23)  
L (Complete)  
NT (1813-1835)

26. *Monthly Magazine and British Quarterly.* London, 1795-1843.

1. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant,

or Resolution of all the Veds. . . ." Vol. XLIII, pp. 391-397 (June, 1817).

2. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of the Ishopanishad. . . ." Vol. XLIV, pp. 484-485 (January 1, 1818).
3. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of the Cena Upanishad. . . ." Vol. XLV, pp. 484-485 (March, 1818).
4. Account of a New Sect in India and of Rammohun Roy, the Founder." Vol. XLIX, pp. 198-199 (April, 1820). Reprinted from the *Revue Encyclopedique*.

Libraries :

MH (Vols. 1 [38-39]-[41-46] n.s. vols. 1-2)

MB (Vol. 1-n.s. vol. 12, s.3, vol. 8)

DLC (Vols. 1-60, broken)

CtY (Vol. 1-n.s. vol. 1)

NNC (Vols. 1-58)

*Monthly Repository of Theology.* London, 1806-1837.

1. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Abridgement of the Vedant. . . ." Vol. XI, p. 512 (1816).
2. Letter from Mr. Roberts concerning the Unitarian movement in India, with introduction by Mr. Belsham. [Quotes from (a) *Christian Reformer*, Calcutta, where the letter was first published, 1818 ; (b) article in *Missionary Register* concerning Rammohun Roy's "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant. . . ." September, 1816 ; September, 1817.] Vol. XIII, pp. 299-302 (1818).
3. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds. . . ." Vol. XIII, p. 512 (1818).
4. A review of the following works by Rammohun Roy :
  - (a) "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant. . . ." Calcutta, 1816.
  - (b) The same, containing likewise a Translation of Cena Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda, London, J. and T. Hoitt, 1817.

(c) "Translation of the Ishopanishad, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Veda ; according to the Commentary of the celebrated Shunkar Acharya, establishing the Unity and Incomprehensibility of the Supreme Being ; and that his worship alone can lead to eternal Beatitude," Calcutta, 1816.

(d) "A Defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to an Attack by an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras," Calcutta, 1817.

(e) "An Apology for the Present System of Hindoo Worship, written in the Bengalee language and accompanied by an English translation, Calcutta, 1817.

[Article also refers to the *Christian Reformer*, Vol. IX, p. 45, wherein a translation of one of Roy's Bengali hymns appeared.] Vol. XIV, pp. 562-569 (1819).

5. "Life of Rammohun Roy." Vol. XIV, p. 561 (1819).
6. "Account of the Life and Writings of Rammohun Roy." [Contains also a biographical letter from M. d'Acosta to Abbe Gregoire, and an extract from the description of Roy given by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence in his *Journal*.] Vol. XV, pp. 1-7 (January, 1825). Reprinted from the *Chronique Religieuse*, a literal translation.
7. "Rammohun Roy and the Unitarian Controversy." [A review of (a) "The Precepts of Jesus . . .," 1820 : (b) an article by a "Christian Missionary," in the *Friend of India Magazine*, No. 2, 1820 ; (c) "First Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds," 1820.] Vol. XVI, pp. 477-485 (1821).
8. Rammohun Roy's letter to an officer of the Indian British army, dated September 5, 1820. [Concerns the controversy ; gives a review of the letter.] Vol. XVI, p. 515 (1821).

9. Smith, Southwood, A letter to the editor. [Concerns Rammohun Roy.] Vol. XVI, pp. 527-528 (1821).
10. Note on Rammohun Roy, Vol. XVI, p. 440 (1821).
11. Rutt, J. T., "Unitarian Controversy at Calcutta." [Concerns Rammohun Roy as the victim of press censorship, as illustrated by quotations from Indian papers :  
 (a) Letter dated July 12, 1821, to the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* (J. S. Buckingham).  
 (b) Letter dated August 1, 1821, to the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. Published in the *Calcutta Journal*, August 1, 1821. In defence of Roy.  
 (c) An article against Rammohun Roy in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, August 2, 1821, p. 420.  
 (d) Letters in defence of Rammohun Roy by Sutyu-Sadhun in the *Calcutta Journal*, August 6, 1821, p. 460 ; August 15, 1821, p. 563.]  
 Vol. XVII, pp. 393-400 (July, 1822).
12. "Free Press and Unitarianism in India." [Quotations from the *Morning Chronicle*.] Vol. XVII, p. 584 (1822).
13. Comment on Rammohun Roy, quoted from the *Morning Chronicle*.  
 (a) Ivimly, J., "The free press and Unitarianism in India." September 24, 30, 1822.  
 (b) Aspland, Robert, "Rammohun Roy and the Calcutta Unitarians." October 3, 1822.  
 (c) Ivimly, J., "Answer to Robert Aspland." September 11. 1822.  
 (d) Aspland, Robert. "Second Reply to Joseph Ivimly." October 15, 1822.]  
 Vol. XVII, p. 584 (1822).

14. "A Hindoo Unitarian's Plea for Charity toward Christian Trinitarians.", [The resume of a tract entitled "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the One True God," by Prnsunnu Koomar Thakoor. Calcutta, 1823. In English and Hindostanee.] Vol. XVII, p. 574 (1823).
15. "Rammohun Roy : Controversy between the Brahmuns and Missionaries," Vol. XVIII, pp. 433 439 (1823). Reprinted from the *Unitarian Miscellany* of May, 1823, which quotes from the *Brahmunical Magazine*, and from the "First, Second, and Final Appeal to the Christian Public."
16. Letter from Eltham against Rammohun Roy, written to the *Monthly Repository*, and answered by Mr. Buckingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, then in England. Vol. XVIII, pp. 434-442 (1823).
17. A review of the following works :
  - (a) "The Precepts of Jesus.....," Calcutta, reprinted in London by the Unitarian Society, 1823.
  - (b) "The First, Second, and Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus," Calcutta, Unitarian Press, Dhurnitallah, 1823.
  - (c) "The Claims of Jesus," a sermon preached in Calcutta, September 23, 1821. Printed by Chauenghee Eurasian Press, 1821.
 Vol. XVIII, pp. 473-479 (1823), and Vol. XVIII, pp. 540-546 (1823).
18. "Rammohun Roy and the *Edinburgh Magazine* [ i. e. Constable's ]." [An answer to the *Edinburgh Magazine* of September, 1823. Also cites sixteen of Rammohun Roy's publications, as taken from a note from R. Roy of February 15, 1822.] Vol. XVIII, pp. 575-587 (1823).

19. "Restriction of the Press in India." [Concerns the expulsion of Mr. Buckingham from India, and Roy's "Memorial," translated and published. Includes a portrait of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. XIX, p. 55 (January, 1824).

20. A review of nine East-Indian Unitarian Tracts, as follows :

- (a) "Queries for the Serious Consideration of Trinitarians," from the *Christian Reformer*, Vol. I, p. 87 (May 9); Vol. II, p. 24 (May 12, 1823). [Two tracts.]
- (b) "Two Dialogues." Calcutta, May 16, 1823.
- (1) "Dialogue between a Trinitarian Missionary and three Chinese Converts," by Rammohun Roy. *Christian Reformer*, Vol. IV, p. 10 (1823).
- (2) "Dialogue between a Unitarian Minister and an Itinerant Bookseller," by Mr. Wright. *Christian Reformer*, Vol. II, p. 19 (1823).
- (c) "A Selection of Passages from the Old and New Testament in Proof of the Unity of God," by William Adam. Calcutta, May 20, 1823.
- (d) "A Faithful and Well Authenticated Report of the Theological Discussion which took place in Calcutta, May 20, 1823, at a meeting assembled by Dr. Tytler." *Christian Reformer*, April, 1824.
- (e) "Substance of a Discourse in Vindication of the Divinity of our Lord," by Dr. R. Tytler. Calcutta, May 25, 1823.
- (f) "Dissection of Dr. Tytler's 'Substance.....,'" by Dr. Craver. Calcutta, June 6, 1823.

(g) "A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity, as the Common Basis of Hinduism and Christianity," by Ram Doss [Ram-mohun Roy]. Calcutta, Smith and Company, Hurkaru Press, June 3, 1823.

Vol. XIX, pp. 235-236 (1824).

21. A review of East-Indian Tracts, continued.  
A discussion of the Ram Doss—Dr. R. Tytler controversy, including :

- (a) Letter of Ram Doss to Tytler, after his refusal of Tytler's invitation to debate with him.
- (b) Tytler's Reply. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May 6, 1823.
- (c) Ram Doss's Reply. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (d) Ram Doss to the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. Ram Doss's first challenge to Dr. R. Tytler.
- (e) Tytler's Reply. May, 1823.
- (f) Ram Doss's second challenge to Dr. Tytler. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (g) Tytler's reply to the *Bengal Hurkaru*, May or June, 1823.
- (h) Ram Doss' third challenge to Dr. Tytler. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (i) Tytler's Reply, May, 1823.
- (j) Ram Doss' fourth challenge to Dr. Tytler. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (k) R. Tytler. A postscript to the *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (l) Ram Doss' answer to Tytler's postscript. May, 1823.
- (m) Tytler's reply, May, 1823.
- (n) Ram Doss' fifth challenge to Tytler. *Bengal Hurkaru*, May, 1823.
- (o) Pamphlet by "A Christian," challenging Ram Doss. May, 1823.

(p) Ram Doss' reply to "A Christian." *Bengal Hurkaru*, May 23, 1823. [This reply is given in full in the *Monthly Repository*.] Vol. XIX, pp. 296-301 (1824).

22. A review of East-Indian tracts, continued.

- (a) The *Brahmunical Magazine*, or the Missionary and the Brahmun, by Shivu Prasad Surma [Rammohun Roy], Calcutta, 1823. Deals with the controversy between Surma and the missionaries who wrote through the *Sumachar Durpun* (Serampore).
- (b) Letter. Questions the "Shastrus." *Sumachar Durpun*, July or August, 1823.
- (c) Surma's answer, the *Brahmunical Magazine*, No. 1, August, 1823. [When the *Sumachar Durpun* refused to print this answer, Roy translated it into English, and started the *Brahmunical Magazine*.]
- (d) "Answer to the Objections against the Poorans or Tuntrus, or Historical Illustrations of the Hindoo Mythology." *Brahmunical Magazine*, No. 2, August, 1824.
- (e) Reply to the *Friend of India*, No. 38. *Brahmunical Magazine*, No. 3, August or September, 1824.

Vol. XIX, pp. 354-359 (1824).

23. Letter from an admirer of Rammohun Roy to the editor of the *Monthly Repository*. [Asks for a new edition of Roy's works, since the controversy has aroused such great interest that a new edition could easily be sold.] Vol. XIX, p. 661 (1824).

24. Letter from Rammohun Roy to Dr. T. Rees, dated Calcutta, June 4, 1824. [States that Roy had written to Mr. Thomas Belsham, December, 1823, and had included a few tracts.] Vol. XIX, p. 681 (1824).

25. "Tribute of Admiration to Rammohun Roy" Vol. XIX, p. 55 (January, 1824). Reprinted from article by Sismondi, "Politics, Moral, Religious State of the British Possessions in India," *Revue Encyclopedique*.

26. Review of *Prospects of Christianity in India ...*, by Rammohun Roy and William Adam, Boston and Cambridge, 1824. Vol. XX, pp. 230-235 (1825). [Marks the beginning of a section of American reviews for the *Monthly Repository*].

27. Description and list of the twenty questions sent to William and Rammohun Roy by William Ware. [Quotes from the *Christian Examiner*.] Vol. XX (1825).

28. "The Unitarian Controversy." Vol. XX, pp. 477, 479 (1825). [Quotations from the *Unitarian Repository*, No. 10, Calcutta, July, 1824; article by the editor of the *India Gazette*.]

29. Ram Doss

- (a) Letter to the editor of the *Monthly Repository*, addressed to Mr. French, Barrister, who had attacked Unitarianism; forwarded by Sandford Arnot (editor of the *Calcutta Journal* after Mr. Buckingham), with comment by Arnot.
- (b) Another letter to the *Monthly Repository*, dated Calcutta, November 17, 1824.
- (c) Pamphlet concerning the Ram Doss—R. Tyler controversy, sent to the editor of the *Monthly Repository* with the second letter by Ram Doss.  
Vol. XX, pp. 273-274 (1825).

30. Letter dated March 16, 1826, signed "A Unitarian." [Contrasts Rammohun Roy with Dr. Marshman.] Vol. XXI, pp. 152-153 (1826).

31. Report of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. First Anniversary Meeting. [Comment on Rammohun Roy by Sandford Arnot.] Vol. XXI, pp. 309-310 (1826).
32. "Measures of American Unitarians for Promoting Unitarianism in India." [Notice of a sermon entitled "Duty of Unitarians in respect to Christianity in India," delivered by Dr. William Ware at a ministerial conference in Boston. Notice of the formation of a society for obtaining information respecting the state of religion in India, Dr. Tuckerman secretary. Furthered by public forums, May 7, May 13, 1826.] Vol. XXI, p. 595 (1826).
33. "Minutes" of the Anniversary [i. e. second] meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. [Discussion of the Indian press and Rammohun Roy's lawsuit; estimate and brief account of Roy.] Vol. XXII, p. 543 (1827).
34. Review of William Drummond's *Doctrine of the Trinity founded neither on Scripture nor on Reason and Common Sense, but on Tradition and the Infallibility of the Church*. 2d ed., London, 1827. [The book is dedicated to Rammohun Roy and Dr. W. E. Channing.] Vol. XXII, pp. 741-743 (1827).
35. "Minutes" of a general meeting of the Friends and Supporters of Unitarian Christianity in Calcutta, December 30, 1827. Vol. XXIII, pp. 577-579 (1828). Reprinted from the *Bengal Hurkaru*, January 2, 1828.
36. Extract from a letter written by William Adam to the Foreign Secretary of the Unitarian Association, Calcutta, February 5, 1828. [Concerns Rammohun Roy's school.] Vol. XXIII, p. 637 (1828).
37. Letter from William Drummond to Lord Mountcashell. Vol. XXIII, pp. 702-709 (1828).

38. Peggs, J., "India's Cries to British Humanity." [A tract containing discussion of Rammohun Roy's tract of 1818 on widow burning.] Vol. XXIV, pp. 831-834 (1829).

39. Notice of Rammohun Roy's intended journey as ambassador for the Rajah of Delhi. Vol. XXV, p. 138 (1830).

40. Notice of the arrival of Rammohun Roy at Liverpool. Vol. XXVI, p. 360 (May, 1831).

41. Rammohun Roy on the Government and Culture of India. [Consists of extracts from "Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India and of the General Character and Condition of its Inhabitants," London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1832 ; and "Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts.....," London, Parbury, Allen and Company, 1832.] Vol. XXVII, pp. 609-617 (1832).

## Libraries :

CtY (Vol. 1-n.s. Vol. 11)  
 DLC (Broken)  
 MB (Vols. 3-20, broken)  
 MH (1806-1833, acquired 1865)  
 NN (Vols. 13-n.s. vols. 6, 10. [11-12] )  
 NNC (Vol. 19)  
 M (Vols. 1-27)  
 L (March, 1819)  
 MHi (Vol. 21 ; 1826, 1827)  
 MAT (1807-1809, acquired 1827 ; n.s. 1827-1831 in 1873 catalogue)

28. *Monthly Review or Literary Journal.* London, 1749-1844.

1. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant and the Céna Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda," London, Hoitt, 1820. Vol. XCII, 173-177 (1820).

## Libraries :

CtY (Complete)  
 NNC (Complete)  
 F (Complete)  
 L (Complete)  
 NN (In part)  
 MB (1749-1837).  
 MH (Vols. 1-43, 45-s.4)  
 MAT (1749-1825, acquired before 1827)

29. *Morning Chronicle*. London, 1770-1862.

1. Notice of a dinner given by the East India Company in honor of Rammohun Roy. No. 19, 302, p. 4 (July 9, 1831).
2. Death notice and brief sketch of Rammohun Roy. October 2, 1831, p. 4.

30. *New Monthly Magazine and British Quarterly*. London, Philadelphia, Boston, 1821-1834.

1. Notice of the *Life of William Roscoe* by his Son, Henry Roscoe, Vol. XXXIII, p. 372.
2. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal... , with an Appendix on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance." Vol. XXXVI, pp. 151-152 (1832).
3. "Biography of Rammohun Roy." [Contains the autobiographical sketch.] Vol. XXXIX, pp. 388-391 (1833).

## Libraries :

NN (Vols. 1-7, n.s. vols. 1-2)  
 MH (Vols [1-3]-10)  
 MWA (Vols 1-10)

31. *Oriental Herald, The*. London 1824-1829.

1. Rammohun Roy, "Remarks on the Rights of Hindoo Females, the Interest and Care which the Ancient Legislators took in their Comfort, and Laws Introduced by the Moderns to their Complete Privation." Vol. X, pp. 251-258 (1826).
2. Sismondi, M. de, "State and Prospects of India." [Mention of Rammohun Roy, p. 417.] Vol. X, pp. 411-427 (1826). Reprinted from the *Revue Encyclopédique*, May, 1826.

## Libraries :

CtY, MH, NN, (Complete)  
 NNC (Vols. 1-[3]-23)  
 DLC (Vols. 1-[21])

32. *Parliamentary Review*. London.

1. "A Sketch of the Rajah Rammohun Roy, the Celebrated Indian Brahmin." [Probably by James Sutherland.] July 26, 1824. Reprinted from the *India Gazette* of February 18, 1824 (also called the "East Indian Memoir").

33. *Periodical Account of the Baptist Missionary Society.* London.

1. "Rammohun Roy." Vol. VI, pp. 106-109 (1816)

34. *Quarterly Review.* London, 1809-. Boston.

1. A review of Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-clarence's *Journal of a Route across India.* Vol. XLI, p. 120.

2. A review of the Reverend Reginald Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through ... India.* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 100-147 (1828).

Library :  
MHi (1812-1882)

35. *Theological Review.* London, 1864-1879.

1. "Rammohun Roy and Hindoo Theism." [A review of :

- (a) *The Last Days...of the Rajah Rammohun Roy* by Mary Carpenter, London, Trubner, 1866.
- (b) "The Brahmo Somaj," by Frances Power Cobbe, Fraser's Magazine, August, 1866.
- (c) *The Indian Mirror*, Calcutta. Vol. III, 1866.
- (d) "An Appeal to Young India," by a Missionary of the Brahmo Somaj.
- (e) "The Destiny of Human Life," a lecture delivered at the Bhabanipur Brahmo Somaj Hall, Calcutta, 1862.
- (f) "Man, the Son of God," a lecture delivered at the Puttoldanga Brahmo Somaj Hall, Calcutta, 1863, by Hurro Lall Roy.
- (g) "The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated," the substance of an extemporaneous lecture delivered at the Brahmo Somaj Hall, Calcutta, 1863.
- (h) "The Religious Prospects of India," a discourse read before The Society of Theistic Friends, Calcutta, 1864.

- (i) Lecture by Hurro Lall Roy on the unity and variety in Religion, Calcutta, 1865.
- (j) "Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia," 2d ed., Calcutta, 1866. Also a reference to the *Works* of William Fox.

Vol. IV, pp. 182-207 (1867).

Libraries :

CtY (Complete)  
 MB (Complete)  
 MH (Complete)  
 DLC (Complete)  
 NN (Vols. 1, 3-16)

36. *Times, The*. London, founded 1785.

1. "Freedom of the Press in India." [Letters against Mr. Buckingham by W. B. Bayley.] January 29, 1822. 2 e.
2. "Periodical Press in India." [Bayley's rules; the lawsuit of Mr. Buckingham.] August 30, 1823. 2 b. Reprinted from the *Bombay Courier*.
3. "Ram Mohun Roy." [Signed "A Correspondent."] June 13, 1831. 5 d.
4. Rajah Rammohun Roy to the editor. [A correction of the statements of the "Correspondent."] June 15, 1831. 5 c.
5. Letter from Rammohun Roy. [Letter asking that no further comment be made on him until he is well enough to speak for himself.] June 16, 1831. 3 b.
6. A review of Rammohun Roy's essay "On the Right of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal." March 5, 1832. 2 e. Reprinted from the *Monthly Repository*.
7. Letter to the editor. [Notes that Rammohun Roy attended the Established Church, St. Pancras, almost every Sunday, and hence could not be a Unitarian.] October 1, 1833. 3 a.
8. Rajah Rammohun Roy, a letter to the editor. October 9, 1833. 3 d.
9. Keshub Chunder Sen. June 30, 1870.

Libraries :

NN  
 NNC (1792- broken to 1834).  
 MAT (1790-1795, 1824 July-December, 1830-1858, 1859-1877).

3. English Periodicals Published in America1. *American Almanac*. Boston, 1830-1861.

1. Notice of the death of Rammohun Roy [from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1833]. 1835, pp. 314-331.

Libraries :

Complete in nearly all main Libraries.

2. *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*. Boston, 1835-1837.

1. "The Rajah Rammohun Roy." [Brief comment with a picture from an English reprint.] Vol. I, pp. 305-306 (1835).

Libraries :

Complete in most main libraries.

3. *American Quarterly Review*. Philadelphia, 1827-1837.

1. A review of *Narrative of a Journey through India*, by the Reverend Reginald Heber. Vol. IV, pp. 115-157 (September, 1828).
2. "Lieutenant-Colonel J. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'hān." Vol. X, pp. 356-385 (December, 1831).

Libraries :

Complete in all main libraries.

4. *Analectic Magazine*. Philadelphia, 1813-1819, n. s. 1820.

1. A review of Abbe Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs... of the People of India*.
2. A review of two works by Rammohun Roy.
  - (a) "A Defence of Hindu Theism in Reply to the Attack of an Advocate of Idolatry at Madras."
  - (b) "A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds..."

This article discusses the above listed tracts, and sketches in part the contents of Roy's translations of the Vedas. It quotes from H. T. Colbrooke's essay which appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI, and contains a discussion of the Unitarian controversy.]

Vol. XV, pp. 129-147 (February, 1823).

Libraries :

Complete in most of the main libraries.

5. *Atlantic Monthly*. Boston, founded 1858.

1. "According to the latest Researches." Vol. XXIII, pp. 548-562 (May, 1869).

Libraries :

Complete in main libraries.

6. *Boston Observer and Religious Intelligencer* [Unitarian]. Boston, January 1—June 25, 1835. Merged with the *Christian Register*.

1. "Rammohun Roy not a Unitarian." [Directed against the article in the London *Christian Observer*, which "is going around all the religious newspapers in the United States."] Vol. I, p. 54 (February 12, 1835).

Libraries :

MB (Complete)

MH (Complete)

DLC (Complete)

NN (Complete)

MWA (Complete)

7. *Boston Recorder* [Baptist]. Boston, 1816-?

1. Unfavorable comment on Rammohun Roy about June 7, 1822.

8. *Christian Disciple and Theological Review* [Unitarian]. Boston, 1813-1823. Merged with the *Christian Examiner*.

1. Review of certain works of Rammohun Roy :

(a) "Translation of the *Cena Upa-nishad*."

- (b) "Second Appeal to the Christian Public." [The "Appeal" was read by the reviewer in the *Friend of India*, No. 4, 1821.]
- (c) "Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,'" 1823 ed.
- (d) Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who Believe in the One True God," by Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor [Rammohun Roy], Calcutta, 1823.

Vol. V, p. 363 (1823).

[A note in the *Monthly Repository*, 1825, p. 104, states that the *Christian Disciple* continued five years and was then merged with the *Christian Examiner*, 1824, and that Mr. Hunter of England "has made arrangements to get a supply of it, and of some other works by American Unitarians." Thus the interchange of periodicals between England and America went on in both directions.]

Libraries :

Complete in most main libraries.  
 MH (Received from 1817)  
 MAT (Received before 1827)  
 MUS (From 1821- complete)

9. *Christian Examiner and Theological Review*. Boston and New York, 1824-1869.

1. "Indian Controversy." Vol. I, p. 468 (1824).
2. A review of certain Indian pamphlets :

- (a) "An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude independently of Brahmunical Observances," by Rammohun Roy, Calcutta, 1820.
- (b) Note on the *Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany* of Calcutta, edited by William Adam. [States that papers

have been received from Rammohun Roy on Christianity in India, and that these papers will soon be made public.]

- (c) The *Brahmnical Magazine*, Calcutta, No. 4, 1823, by Shivu-Prasad Surma.
- (d) "A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity, as the Common Basis of Hinduism and Christianity against the Schismatic Attacks of R. Tytler Esq.," by Ram Doss, Calcutta, 1823.

Vol. I, pp. 239-244 (1824).

- 3. "Christianity in Southern India, its History and Present State." Vol. II, pp. 313-329 (September and October, 1825).
- 4. "Christianity in India." [Note on Rammohun Roy's efforts to destroy the sutttee.] Vol. II, pp. 149-153 (1825).
- 5. "Is Rammohun Roy a Christian?" [Note on the Marshman controversy.] Vol. III, pp. 361-371 (1826).
- 6. "Present State and Prospects of Unitarian Christianity in Calcutta." [Shows the co-operation of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. III, pp. 164-170 (1826).
- 7. Adam, William, Letter. Vol. III, pp. 522-523 (1826).
- 8. Adam, William, Letter to Dr. Tuckerman of Boston. Vol. V, p. 176 (1828).
- 9. Notice of the writings of Rammohun Roy and William Adam. Vol. V, p 177 (1828).
- 10. "Unitarian Mission at Calcutta." [Discusses Rammohun Roy's school and charity.] Vol. V, p. 175 (1828).
- 11. Comment on Rammohun Roy. [Extract from the *Christian Reformer* of London; also quotations from Roy's writings and an extract from a letter written by him.] Vol. V, pp. 94-95 (1828).
- 12. "On the Bengal Mission of Mr. Adam." Vol. V, pp. 425-427, 353-356 (1828).

13. "Unitarian Mission at Calcutta." [Report of a meeting.] Vol. V, pp. 267-269 (1828).
14. Notice of receiving a "large number of pamphlets printed at Calcutta by the last arrival from India." Vol. IV, p. 96 (1827).
15. A review of "Sermons Preached in England," and "Sermons Preached in India," by the Reverend Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta. [The review calls Rammohun Roy a "great native missionary."] Vol. VII, pp. 212-229 (1830).
16. "Lecture on Liberty." [Rammohun Roy is used as an example of the new type of reformer who uses "candor and meekness" as weapons.] Vol. VII, p. 20 (1830).
17. A reference to the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, wherein that periodical is spoken of as though it were commonly read in America. Vol. VI n. s., p. 54 (1831).
18. A review of the *Life of William Roscoe* by his son, Henry Roscoe, London ed., T. Cadell, 1833; Amerian ed., Boston, Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf, 1833. Vol. XI n. s., pp. 273-304 (1834).
19. A review of Mr. Aspland's sermons. Vol. T. S. I (XIX), pp. 321-327 (1836).
20. A review of Dr. Lant Carpenter's "Harmony of the Gospels." Vol. T. S. II (XX), pp. 270-271 (1836).
21. A review of Howard Malcom's *Travels in South Eastern Asia...*, Boston, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1839. [The review quotes the unfavorable comment on Rammohun Roy contained in this book, pp. 387-397.] Vol. XXVI, pp. 378-404.

## Libraries :

CTY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, NN (Complete)  
 MUS (Complete from 1824)  
 NNU (in part)  
 RPBC (Vols. 1-83, 85-87)  
 MAT (1824-1825; acquired before 1827)

10. *Christian Herald and Seamen's Magazine, The.* New York, 1816-1824.

1. "Burning of a Widow in Bengal." [An account of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. V, pp. 201-203 (1818-1819).

Libraries:

NNU (Vols. 1 [10-11])  
 MH (In part)  
 NT (1816-1822)  
 NHS (1816-1822)  
 MB (In part)  
 CtY (In part)  
 NNT (1816-1821)

11. *Christian Inquirer [Unitarian].* New York, January 15, 1825 — July 1, 1827. Merged with the *Olive Branch*, 1827.

1. "Rammohun Roy and the *Columbian Star*." Vol. I n. s., p. 158 (1826).

2. Notice and advertisement of the New York edition of Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus."

(a) "Precepts of Jesus," bound with plate, \$2.25; boards, \$2.00; without plate, \$1.75.

(b) "Precepts of Jesus," \$2.25, \$2.00, \$1.75. Also sets of *Unitarian Miscellany*, copies of *Christian Examiner* for sale.

Vol. I, p. 336 (May 27, 1826); Vol. I, p. 368 (June 3, 1826).

[Advertisement of Rammohun Roy's "Precepts," and also of the *Christian Examiner*, is likewise found in vol. I, p. 384 (June 17), p. 400 (June 24); Vol. II, p. 16 (July 8), p. 48 (July 22), p. 80 (August 5), p. 96 (August 12), p. 112 (August 19), p. 144 (September 2), p. 160 (September 9), p. 192 (September 23), p. 208 (September 30), p. 224 (October 7), p. 240 (October 14), p. 256 (October 21), p. 272 (October 28).]

3. Religious Intelligence: Mr. Adam of Calcutta. Vol. I, pp. 358-359 (June 10, 1826).

4. Adam, William, Letter. [Concerns the conversion of Mr. Adam to Unitarianism, by Rammohun Roy whom he had set out to convert to Christianity. The letter was lent to the *Christian Inquirer* by a "Scottish Friend."]
5. Letter from India. [Concerns the Unitarian mission in India. These letters are frequent, the paper states.]
6. Mention of, and comment on, Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu school. Vol. II, p. 1 (October 28, 1826).

NN (Vols. 1 [2])  
 CfY (Vols. [2] n.s. [2-3])  
 DLC (Vols. [1] n.s. 3)  
 MB (Broken)

12. *Christian Journal and Literary Register, The.* New York. 1817-1830.

1. "The Cause of Christianity in India." Vol. I, p. 365 (1817). Reprinted from the *British Review*.
2. "Burning of Hindoo Widows Abolished." Vol. XIV, p. 253 (1830). Reprinted, in part, from the *Morning Herald*.

Libraries :

NN (Complete)  
 NHS (Complete)  
 NT (Complete)  
 NMT (1817-1818)  
 NNU (In part)  
 CfY (In part)

13. *Christian Magazine, The.* Providence, Rhode Island, 1824-1827.

1. "Mission at Serampore." [A review of American missions in India.] Vol. I, p. 280 (1824). Reprinted from the *London Missionary Register*, January, February, 1825.

Libraries :

CfY (Complete)  
 MB (Complete)  
 NN (Complete)  
 DLC (Vols. 2-4)  
 MH (Vols. [3-4])  
 NNU (Vols. 1 [3])

14. *Christian Register*. Boston, founded April 20, 1821.

1. "Unitarian Christianity in India." [ Note on Rammohun Roy. ] Vol. I, p. 2 (April 20, 1821).
2. Note on Cummings and Hillard, Boston. Vol. I. pp. 27, 43 (September 14, 1821.)
3. Notice of the reception of London papers. Vol. I, pp. 27, 43 (September 14, 1821).
4. "Rammohun Roy." Quotations from a letter of Southwood Smith, dated London, September 17, 1821; also from a letter from "a friend" in Calcutta, dated November 27, 1821. Rammohun Roy is called a Unitarian but not a Christian. The writer states that he "will endeavor to get a few of his [ i.e., Roy's ] books to send you." Vol. I, p. 57 (November 23, 1821).
5. A review of certain writings of Rammohun Roy, from the English editions of 1817. Includes comment on :
  - (a) Letter from Rammohun Roy to the editor of the *Christian Register*, David Reed.
  - (b) "The Precepts of Jesus," 1820 edition.
  - (c) Dr. Marshman's reply and "A Christian Missionary's Remarks on 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Also Marshman's comments, as editor of the *Friend of India*, on "An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus'."
  - (d) Quotation from *Monthly Repository*.
  - (e) Comment on the controversy by means of a review which had appeared in the *Monthly Repository*.
  - (f) Mention of Rammohun Roy's introduction to the *Christian*

*Register* by the "late lamented Dr. Thomson of Halifax."

December 7, 1821, pp. 65-66 (Front page article, occupies six columns).

6. "The Indian Controversy." [ Expresses doubt of the success of the Indian mission ; accuses Roy of over-emphasizing the sectarian side. ] Vol. I, pp. 66-67 (December 7, 1821).
7. List of agencies of the *Unitarian Miscellany* in New England. Vol. I, p. 67 (December 7, 1821).
8. "Review of the Indian Controversy." [ Letter by Rammohun Roy to a Colonel of the Mahratta war, dated September 5, 1820. ] Vol. I, p. 81 (January 4, 1822). Reprinted from the *Monthly Repository* and the *Morning Chronicle*.
9. "Burning of Widows." [ Notes on Rammohun Roy's tracts on the subject. ] Vol. I, p. 110 (February 22, 1822).
10. Quotation from Fox's lecture on Unitarianism delivered in London. [ Mention of Rammohun Roy ; quotation from Mr. Belsham's introduction to the letter of Mr. William Roberts which contains a summary of Roy's religious creed. ] Vol. I, p. 129 (March 29, 1822).
11. "Religious Intelligence." [ States that the committee, including Dr. Thomas Rees and Mr. Belsham, is in direct communication with the work at Madras. Mentions Mr. William Roberts' letter concerning India.
  - (a) Mention of Mr. Roberts' letter, *Christian Reformer*, November, 1821.
  - (b) Mention of Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus."
  - (c) Notice of Rammohun Roy's "Appeal to the Christian Public."

(d) Discussion of the Unitarian controversy.]

Vol. I, p. 147 (May 10, 1822). (Two columns on front page.)

12. Adam, William, Sermon. [Extracts from the sermon delivered by Mr. Adam at the first meeting of the Unitarian congregation at Calcutta; also discussion of the relationship between Rammohun Roy and William Adam.] Vol. I, p. 158 (May 17, 1822). (Occupies three-fourths of a page space.)
13. Adam, William, An editorial. Vol. I, p. 158 (May 17, 1822).
14. "Missionaries in India." [Unfavorable comment on Rammohun Roy from the *Boston Recorder*. Comment in defence of Roy from the *Christian Register*. Mention of the "Second Appeal" as being "now before us," and of the editor's intention to "give our readers a more full and perfect acquaintance with this extra-ordinary production."] Vol. I, p. 170 (June 7, 1822). (Three columns.)
15. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus,'" with extracts from Chapter I. Vol. I, p. 186 (July 5, 1822). (Two columns.)
16. Rammohun Roy, "Natural Inferiority of the Son to the Father," Chapter II of "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Vol. I, p. 188 (July 12, 1822).
17. Rammohun Roy, Chapters III and IV of "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Vol. I, p. 190 (July 19, 1822).
18. Rammohun Roy, Chapter V of "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Vol. I, p. 198 (July 26, 1822).
19. Adam, William, Letter to Dr. William E. Channing. [Speaks of Rammohun Roy's

influence and his "Second Appeal."] Vol. I, p. 198 (July 26, 1822).

20. Rammohun Roy, Chapters VI of "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Vol. I, p. 202 (August 2, 1822). (One column.)
21. Editorial. [Mention of Rammohun Roy's "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'."] Vol. I, p. 206 (August 9, 1822). (Two columns.)
22. Rammohun Roy, Extracts from "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." [Extracts deal with the Trinitarian doctrine.] Vol. II, p. 1 (August 16, 1822). (Front page article.)
23. Rammohun Roy, "The Double Nature of Christianity," from "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." Vol. II, p. 5, (August 23, 1822.) (Front page article.)
24. Rammohun Roy, Extracts from the Appendix of "Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus'." [Discussion and criticism of certain Old Testament material contained in the New Testament.] Vol. II, p. 9 (August 30, 1822). (Front page article.)
25. A review of (a) "The Doctrine of Trinitarianism." (b) "Sermons on the Unity of God." Vol. II. p. 18 (September 13, 1822).
26. "The Simple and Practical Supremacy of the Unitarian Christian Doctrine." Vol. II, p. 21 (September 20, 1822). Reprinted from the *Christian Reformer* with extracts from the *Trinitarian Review*.
27. "Widow Burning." Vol. II, p. 46 (November 1, 1822). Reprinted from the *Calcutta Journal*.

28. "Widow Burning." Vol. II, p. 50 (November 8, 1822). Reprinted from the *Calcutta Journal*, February 8, 1822.

29. Rammohun Roy, Letter to "a gentleman of this city [i. e., Boston]." [The letter was lent to the *Christian Register*. The article includes also a discussion of certain pamphlets by Rammohun Roy and one by Dr. Channing, as follows :

- (a) Speech delivered by William E. Channing at the ordination of Mr. Sparks. Calcutta reprint.
- (b) Three different numbers of the *Brahmunical Magazine* called the *Missionary and the Brahmin*, published in Bengali with an English translation on the adjoining page. The *Christian Register* is apparently unaware of the fact that the publication is by Rammohun Roy.
- (c) "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance," by Rammohun Roy.]

Vol. II, p. 107 (February 14, 1823).

30. "Unitarianism in Calcutta." [A criticism of an account which purports to be a letter from a gentlemen in Calcutta. William Adam and Rammohun Roy are mentioned, and Unitarianism is called Socinianism and a "present fashion."] Vol. II, p. 110 (February 21, 1823). Reprint from the *Gospel Advocate*.

31. "Hindoo Female Rights." Vol. II, p. 117 (March 7, 1823). (Front page article.)

32. "William Adam and Rammohun Roy." Vol. II, p. 138 (March 7, 1823).

33. "Correspondence. [A letter written by Rammohun Roy to David Reed, answering certain questions that had

been propounded in a letter from Reed to Rammohun Roy. The letter states that it is accompanied by certain publications:

- (a) Extracts from the *Missionary Works* published toward the end of the preceding year.
- (b) Extracts from the Bengal *Auxiliary Chronicle*, 1823, wherein complaint is made that people are being led away by "Socinian principles."
- (c) Fifth Annual Report of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society, January 10, 1823.
- (d) "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who Believe in the One True God," by Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor [i. e. Rammohun Roy]. Only an extract is here given, but it is evident from David Reed's comment that he was very familiar with the contents of the whole essay.

Vol. III, p. 154 (May 7, 1824).

- 34. "Seraampore Mission." [Quotation of a letter from Mr. Carey.] Vol. III, p. 154 (May 7, 1824).
- 35. A review of "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who Believe in the One True God," Prusunnu Koomar Thakoor [i.e. Rammohun Roy], Calcutta, 1823. Vol. III, p. 157 (May 14, 1824). (One and one-half columns, front page.)
- 36. "William Adam." [Article demanding aid for William Adam and giving praise to his work.] Vol. III, p. 158 (May 14, 1824).
- 37. Adam, William, Letter to David Reed. [Notes the founding of the *Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany* by Adam in Calcutta. Reed states that he has just received four numbers of this publication, and gives extracts

from various articles.] Vol. III, p. 170 (June 4, 1824).

38. Extracts from the Annual Report of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society. [This is the pamphlet received from Rammohun Roy.] Vol. III, p. 170 (June 4, 1824).

39. "Establishment of the Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta." [Discussion of the Rammohun Roy—Marshman controversy.] Vol. III, p. 182 (June 25, 1824). Reprinted from the *Unitarian Repository* of Calcutta.

40. "Hindoo Idolatry." Vol. III, p. 185 (July 2, 1824). (One column, front page.) Reprinted from the *Unitarian Repository*.

41. Discussion of "The Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting it in India," by Rammohun Roy. [The article notes that this work was "just published in this city." It gives the history of the movement which caused certain questions to be asked of William Adam and Rammohun Roy (April 24, 1823); states that the replies to these questions were received on December 24, 1823 and February, 1824; and gives extracts from the replies of Adam.] Vol. III, p. 202 (July 30, 1824).

42. Adam, William, and Henry Ware, "The Prospects of Christianity in India." [Quotations from the letter of William Adam, December 24, 1823, and that of Henry Ware, April 24, 1823.] Vol. III, p. 205 (August 6, 1824). (Front page.)

43. Adam, William, "Answers to the questions of Henry Ware." [Extracts given.] Vol. III, p. 210 (August 13, 1824.)

44. Adam, William, "Answers to the questions of Henry Ware." [Extracts given.] Vol. III, p. 214 (August 20, 1824.)

45. Adam, William, "Answers to the questions of Henry Ware. [Extracts given.] Vol. III, p. 218 (August 27, 1824.)

46. Adam, William, "On the Indian Missionaries," Question I of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." [Lists the church missionaries in India, viz.,  
 (a) Baptist  
 (b) Independent (*Asiatic Observer*)  
 (c) Unitarian ;  
 and the missionary publications in India, viz.,  
 (a) *Circular Letter*  
 (b) *Monthly Friend of India* (Baptist)  
 (c) *Quarterly Friend of India* (Baptist)  
 (d) *A Bengali newspaper.*]  
 Vol. III, p. 221 (September 3, 1824.)  
 (Two columns.)

47. Adam, William, "What is the Number and Character of Converts ?" Question II of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." [Quotations from the *Friend of India.*] "The Morals of the Christian Hindoos and Condition of their Life," Question III of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." [Quotations from the *Friend of India.*] Vol. III, p. 225 (September 10, 1824). (Two and one-half columns, front page.)

48. Letter from the Reverend Mill, missionary in Calcutta, to the Unitarian Society of Great Britain. [Mention of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. III, p. 225 (September 10, 1824). Reprinted from the *Missionary Herald.*

49. Adam, William, Answers to Questions IV and V of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." Vol. III, p. 227 (September 17, 1824). (Front page.)

50. "Defence of Rammohun Roy against the comments of Mr. Mill." [Includes a review of the "Precepts of Jesus," and its Bible references.] Vol. III, p. 230 (September 17, 1824). (Two and one-half columns.)

51. Adam, William, Answers to Questions VI and VII of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." Vol. III, p. 334 (September 24, 1824).

52. Adam, William, Answers to Questions VIII and IX of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." Vol. III, p. 237 (October 1, 1824). (Two and one-third columns.)
53. Adam, William, Answer to Question X of the "Prospects of Christianity...in India." Vol. III, p. 345 (October 15, 1824). (Front page.)
54. Adam, William, "On the Causes of Failure of Missionary Exertions in India." Part I. Vol. III, p. 349 (October 22, 1824). (Front page.)
55. Adam, William, "On the Causes of Failure of Missionary Exertions in India," Part II. Vol. III, p. 353 (October 29, 1824). (Front page.)
56. Adam, William, "On the Causes of Failure of Missionary Exertions in India," Part III. Vol. III, p. 357 (November 5, 1824). (Front page.)
57. "William Adam not a Christian." Vol. III, p. 373 (December 3, 1824). Reprinted from the Washington *Gazette*.
58. Adam, William, "Christianity in India." Vol. III, p. 373 (December 3, 1824). (Front page.)
59. Adam, William, "Christianity in India." Vol. III, p. 377 (December 10, 1824). (One and one-half columns, front page.)
60. Rammohun Roy, Letter to Thomas Rees. [Letter dated June 4, 1824. With discussion and summary of Rees' comment.] Vol. IV, p. 21 (February 12, 1825). (Front page.) Reprinted from the *Monthly Repository*, November 19, 1824.
61. Editorial. [Commendation of William Adam and Rammohun Roy.] Vol. IV, p. 106 (July 9, 1825). (Two columns.)
62. Editorial. [Editorial on Rammohun Roy. Comments and quotations from the *India Gazette* and the *Unitarian Repository*. Comment: "But few of the reading

public, either in this country or in England can now be ignorant of the talents and character of this distinguished Asiatic."] Vol. IV, p. 181 (November 19, 1825). (One and one-half columns, front page.)

63. "Superstitions of the East —Suttee." Vol. IV, p. 206 (December 31, 1825).
64. Review of the "Precepts of Jesus," and an account of the life and writings of Rammohun Roy. Vol. V, p 1 (January 7, 1826). Reprinted from the *New York Review* of November, 1825.
65. Advertisement. ["The Precepts of Jesus...," by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office. New York, B. Bates edition, 1825.] Vol. V, p. 39 (March 11, 1826).
66. "The Indian Press." [Quotations from the *Friend of India* of May, 1825.] Vol. V, p. 41 (March 18, 1826). Two and one-half columns, front page.
67. Advertisement. "[The Precepts of Jesus...," by Rammohun Roy, New York edition, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office.] Vol. V, p. 44 (March 18, 1826).
68. "The Indian Press." Vol. V, pp. 45, 49 (March 25, April 1, 1826). One column ; one and one-half columns, respectively.
69. Advertisement. ["The Precepts of Jesus...," by Rammohun Roy, New York edition, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office.] Vol. V, pp. 48, 51, 53 (March 25, April 1, April 8, 1826).
70. Advertisement. [ "Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,'" by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office ; also "a few copies of an engraved likeness" of Rammohun Roy. ] Vol. V, p. 67 (April 29, 1826).
71. Notice of the "Theological Circulating Library," 81, Washington Street, at

the *Christian Register* Headquarters.  
[The stock as here advertised includes :

- (a) "Appeal to the Christian Public....," by Rammohun Roy.  
1 copy.
- (b) *Christian Observer*. Etc. |  
Vol. V. p. 72 (May 6, 1826).
- 72. "The Present State and Prospects of Christianity in Calcutta." [Review of an article in the *Christian Examiner*.] Vol. V. p. 73 (May 13, 1826).
- 73. "Original Communications." [Evaluation of Unitarianism, mention of William Adam, and discussion of whether or not Rammohun Roy is a Christian.] Vol. V. p. 78 (May 20, 1826). (Two columns).
- 74. Advertisement. [ "Appeal to the Christian Public....," by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* office.] Vol. V, p. 88 (June 3, 1826).
- 75. Advertisement. [ "Appeal to the Christian Public....," by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office.] Vol. V, p. 96 (June 17, 1826).
- 76. Advertisement. [ "Appeal to the Christian Public....," by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office ; also the *Unitarian Miscellany* and "odd numbers" of the *Christian Register* and *Unitarian Miscellany*.] Vol. V, p. 100 (June 24, 1826).
- 77. Advertisement. [ Complete sets of the *Unitarian Miscellany* announced for sale.] Vol. V, p. 104 (July 1, 1826).
- 78. Announcement. [ Odd numbers of the *Christian Disciple* bought and sold at the *Christian Register* Office. Complete sets of the *Christian Register* for sale.] Vol. V, p. 107 (July 8, 1826).
- 79. Advertisement. [ "Appeal to the Christian Public....," by Rammohun Roy, for sale at the *Christian Register* Office ; also a picture of Roy.] Vol. V, p. 108 (July 8, 1826).

80. Advertisement. [“Unitarianism in India,” as well as complete sets of the *Christian Examiner* and the *Unitarian Miscellany*, for sale at the *Christian Register Office*.] Vol. V, p. 143 (September 9, 1826).

81. Quotations from the *Asiatic Journal*. Vol. V, November 4, November 11, 1826.

82. Advertisement. [Proposal of “publication by subscription of the writings of Rammohun Roy, of Calcutta, relative to the doctrines of Christianity,” including :  
 (a) “The Precepts of Jesus”  
 (b) “The First, Second, and Final Appeals to the Christian Public”]  
 Conditions : The book to be between 550 and 600 pages in length, and to sell for \$2.25 per copy ; other copies with an engraved portrait of Rammohun Roy to sell for \$2.50. The work to be published as soon as there are enough subscribers.  
 A testimony “to the value of the writings of this distinguished man will show in what estimation they are held by learned theologians of our own country.”  
 (a) A letter of testimony, dated February 14, 1827, from Andrews Norton to David Reed.  
 (b) Testimony of Henry Ware, dated February 24, 1827.)  
 Vol. VI, p. 31 (February 24, 1827].

83. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy. Testimonial by Dr. J. Tuckerman here included.] Vol. VI, p. 35 (March 3, 1827).

84. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, p. 39 (March 10, 1827).

85. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. IV, pp. 56, etc. (March 17, March 31, April 7, 1827).

86. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, p. 60 (April 14, 1827).

87. "Defence of Rammohun Roy against those who claim he is not a Christian." [Directed against the *Christian Watchman*.] Vol. VI, p. 62 (April 21, 1827).

88. "Foreign Intelligence." [Quotations from the *Bengal Hurkaru*. "By the politeness of a gentleman who came passenger in the Mars from Calcutta, we have been favored with the perusal of the files of the *Bengal Hurkaru*."] Vol. VI, p. 63 (April 21, 1827).

89. "Defence of Rammohun Roy." [Against the attacks of the *Christian Watchman*. Also quotations from a letter written by Rammohun Roy to "a gentleman in this country and politely forwarded to us during the past week," dated Calcutta, December 28, 1824.] Vol. VI, p. 66 (April 28, 1827).

90. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, p. 68 (April 28, 1827).

91. "How can Christianity be extended in India?" [The article represents Rammohun Roy as the ideal missionary type.] Vol. VI, p. 74 (May 12, 1827). (Two and one-half columns.)

92. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, p. 76 (May 12, 1827).

93. Note on William Ward of Medford, recently deceased. Vol. VI, p. 83 (May 26, 1827).

94. Advertisement. [The Theological Reading Room, 81 Washington Street, announces that it is "furnished with late files of English periodical works, etc."] Vol. VI, p. 82 (May 26, 1827).

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95. Heber, Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta, Extract from a letter. [Concerns Rammohun Roy and India in general.] Vol. VI, p. 154 (September 29, 1827). Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* of March, 1827.
96. Advertisement. [Proposed edition of the works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI (June 2, 7, 16, 23, 30, July 7, August 11, 1827).
97. Heber, Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta, Extracts from a letter [continued]. Vol. VI (October 6, 1827).
98. Account of the labors of William Adam since he received monetary aid ; discussion of Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu school, and a defence of Roy. Includes quotations from Bishop Heber on Roy. Vol. VI, p. 182 (November 17, 1827).
99. Heber, Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta, Extracts from letter dated April, 1826. Vol. VI, p. 188 (November 24, 1827).
100. Announcement. [New agency of the *Christian Register* established in Georgia.] Vol. VII, p. 44 (March 15, 1828).
101. Announcement. [The theological writings of Rammohun Roy, the celebrated Hindoo Brahmin, "just published at the office of the *Christian Register* and sold at the book stores generally."] Vol. VII, p. 47 (March 22, 1828).
102. Advertisement. [The newly published works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VII, pp. 51, 55, 63, 66, 71, 72, 76 (March 29, April 5, 19, 26, May 3, 10, 1828).
103. Review of the published works of Rammohun Roy. Vol. VII, p. 82 (May 24, 1828).
104. "Calcutta Unitarian Mission." Vol. VII, p. 83 (May 31, 1828). Reprinted from the *Bengal Hurkārū*.

105. Rammohun Roy, "Answer of a Hindoo..." [A tract just received from Calcutta, signed "Chundru-Shekher Dev.] Vol. VII, p. 89 (June 7, 1828).
106. Review of the works of Rammonun Roy. Vol. VII, p. 91 (June 7, 1828).
107. Tuckerman, J., "Second Memoir of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee." [Extracts.] Vol. VII, p. 94 (June 14, 1828).
108. Advertisement. [The works of Rammohun Roy; advertisement repeated from issue of June 7. Also a review of his works.] Vol. VII, p. 95 (June 14, 1828). (One column.)
109. Tuckerman, J., "Second Memoir of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee." [Extracts.] Vol. VII, p. 97 (June 21, 1828). (Two and one-half columns.)
110. Unitarian Mission in Calcutta, "Native Service" Vol. VII, p. 101 (June 28, 1828). (One and one-half columns, front page.)
111. Advertisement. [Works of Rammohun Roy, and review, as in former issue.] Vol. VII, p. 104 (June 28, 1828).
112. "Unitarian Mission in Calcutta—Education." Vol. VII, p. 109 (July 12, 1828).
113. "Unitarian Mission in Calcutta—Library." Vol. VII, p. 113 (July 19, 1828).
114. "Unitarian Mission in Calcutta—Funds." Vol. VII, p. 121 (August 2, 1828).
115. "Vindication of Rammohun Roy." [An article written for the *Christian Register* by the editor of the *Christian Examiner* directed against the Episcopalian *Church Register*. The article in the *Church Register* which gave rise to the controversy, and which was reprinted in "the leading orthodox papers," is here quoted.] Vol. VII, p. 170 (October 25, 1828).

116. Adam, William, Letter to the Foreign Secretary of the Unitarian Association. [Extracts.] Vol. VII, p. 177 (November 8, 1828). (Front page.)
117. Advertisement. [Newly published edition of the theological works of Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VIII, p. 83 (May 23, 1829).
118. "Anglo-Indian School." [Account of an Examination.] Vol. VIII. p. 175 (October 31, 1829).
119. "Rammohun Roy's proposed trip to England." Vol. IX, p. 39 (March 6, 1830).
120. "Rammohun Roy and the Abolition of Suttee." [Quotation from the *Bengal Hurkaru* which contained a letter from Frances K. Martin, dated November 26, 1829. The article reviews Roy's part in the reform movement which culminated in the abolition of this practice.] Vol. IX, p. 61 (April 17, 1830).
121. Account of Rammohun Roy in England and a biography of his early years. [From the *Christian Pioneer*.] Vol. X, p. 97 (June 18, 1830). (Two and one-half columns, front page.)
122. Report. [Concerns the British and Foreign Unitarian Association Meeting. Gives an account of Rammohun Roy's speech.] Vol. X, p. 125 (August 6, 1830). (Four columns, one devoted to Roy.)
123. "Intelligence from England." [Letter from the English Unitarian Association on Rammohun Roy for the purpose of correcting the statements made in the *Morning Chronicle*. Quotes Roy's note to the editor of the London *Times*.] Vol. X, p. 128 (August 6, 1830). (Two columns.)
124. "Rammohun Roy in England." [Letters from a Unitarian clergyman on Rammohun Roy, dated (a) Liverpool, April 19, 1830, and (b) Liverpool, April 29, 1830. The meeting of William Roscoe and Rammohun Roy is described.] Vol. X, p. 130 (August 13, 1830).

125. "Rammohun Roy on the Government and Religion of India." [A review of the *Monthly Repository*'s review of Roy's "Exposition of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India...." and his "Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds."] Vol. XI, p. 177 (November 10, 1832).

126. Fitzelarence, Lieutenant-Colonel, Quotation from *Journal of a Route across India*..., London, 1819. [Quotation of the section that deals with Rammohun Roy.] Vol. XII, p. 122 (July 13, 1833). Reprinted from the *Select Journal*.

127. Mention of Henry Roscoe's *Life of William Roscoe*, Russell, Odiorne and Company, Boston. Vol. XII, p. 110 (July 13, 1833). Reprinted from the *Select Journal*.

128. "Death of Rammohun Roy." [An account of Rammohun Roy's attitude toward America.] Vol. XII, p. 183 (November 16, 1833).

129. "Biographical Sketch of Rammohun Roy." Vol. XII, p. 186 (November 23, 1833). Reprinted from the London *Athenaeum*.

130. Fox, The Reverend W. J., "Discourse on Death of Rammohun Roy." [Lecture delivered at Finsbury Chapel, London, October 13, 1833.] Vol. XIII, p. 45 (March 22, 1834). (Covers entire front page and one and one-half columns of following page.)

131. Martinneau, Harriet, "Hymn on Rammohun Roy." Vol. XIII, p. 52 (March 29, 1834).

132. A review of Dr. Lant Carpenter's *Review of the Life, Labours and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy...*, Bristol, 1833. [The volume contains quotations from Dr. Tuckerman's letter in the "Appendix."] Vol. XIII, p. 62 (April 19, 1834.)

133. Comment on the Rammohun Roy biography by Dr. Lant Carpenter; also comment on a letter written by the Reverend John Foster to Dr. Carpenter,

Stapleton, October 14, 1833. [This letter is included in the published work by Carpenter.] Vol. XIII, p. 61 (April 19, 1834). Reprinted from the *Christian Watchman*.

134. "Rammohun Roy." [A discussion of Roy.] Vol. XIII, p. 48 (November 1, 1834.)

135. Notice of a meeting held at the Town Hall in Calcutta in commemoration of Rammohun Roy. Vol. XIII, p. 48 (November 1, 1834). Reprinted from the *India Gazette*.

136. "Rammohun Roy." [A discussion of the religious controversy in which Roy was involved. Quotes from the *Christian Observer*.] Vol. XIV, p. 94, (January 24, 1835).

Libraries:

MUS (Complete)  
MH (Complete)  
MSA (Complete)  
NN (Broken)  
MHi (Broken)  
MAT

15. *Christian Watchman*. Worcester, Boston, New York. 1819— Baptist. Became the *Watchman-Observer*.

1. "Rammohun Roy." September 11, 1824, p. 159.
2. "Rammohun Roy." [Rammohun Roy not a Christian.] April 20, 1827, p. 78.
3. "Rammohun Roy." [Rammohun Roy not a Christian.] May 4, 1827, p. 87.
4. List of agencies. January 16, 1829, p. 12.
5. "Rajah Rammohun Roy." [Letter of John Foster, dated Stapleton, October 14, 1824, quoted entire; comment on the letter by Dr. Lant Carpenter and the editor.] April 3, 1834. (One and one-half columns, front page.)

Libraries:

CtY (Vols. 78-85, 87-92- )  
DLC (Broken)  
MB (Vols. 20-73, 75-93)  
MHi (Broken)  
NN (Broken)  
MH (Complete from 1850 on)  
L (Complete)

16. *Methodist Review [Quarterly]*. New York, founded 1818.

1. "The Brahma Samaj." [Discussion of Rammohun Roy. pp. 400-404.] Vol. XXVII, pp. 400-414 (1867).
2. "Brahmoism: its History and Claims." Vol. XXI, pp. 638-647 (1861).

Libraries:

CtY (Vols. 1-13, 15-20, 22- )  
 DLC (Vols. 1- )  
 MB (Vols. 1- )  
 MH (Vols. [1]-2 [10-11] 15 [23,29]-02)  
 NN (Vols 1- )  
 NNU (Vols. 1-10, s. 3, vols. 1- )  
 NT (Vols. 1- )

17. *New Englander, The, and Yale Review*. New Haven, Connecticut, 1842-1892.

1. "The Historic Religions of India." [A review of four books:  
 (a) Cousin, *History of Philosophy*.  
 (b) Max Muller, *Lectures and Papers*.  
 (c) J. F. Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*.  
 (d) Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia*.] Vol. XXXIX, pp. 487-508 (1880).

Libraries:

Complete in most main libraries.

18. *New York Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*. New York, 18-?

1. "Biography of Rammohun Roy." No. 3, pp. 45-46 (October 1, 1834). Reprinted from the London *Atheneum*, October 5, 1833.

19. *New York Review and Atheneum Magazine*. New York, 1815-1826, June to May. William Cullen Bryant, editor.

- I. A review of "The Precepts of Jesus," by Rammohun Roy, based on New York edition of 1825, and London edition of 1823-1824, with "Preface" by Thomas Rees. Vol. I, pp. 442-453 (1825).

Libraries:

MH (Complete, Received 1825)  
 DLC (Complete)  
 MB (Complete)  
 CtY (Complete)  
 NNC (Complete)

20. *North American Review*. Boston, founded 1815.

1. "Theology of the Hindoos, as taught by Rammohun Roy." [A review of three pamphlets :
  - (a) "Translation of the Veds" with preface.
  - (b) "Translation of the Cena Upanishad."
  - (c) "Defence of Hindoo Theism," No. I.

The review includes quotations from the works.]

Vol. VI, pp. 386-393 (1818).

2. "College of the native in Calcutta." Vol. VI, 418 (1818).

3. A review of Abbe Dubois' *Manners and Customs of the People of India*. Vol. IX, pp. 36-58 (June, 1819).

Libraries :

Complete in all main libraries.

21. *Old and New*. Boston, 1870-1875.

1. Chaney, George, "The Brahmo Samaj." [Comment on Rammohun Roy and K. C. Sen.] Vol. V, pp. 679-686 (1872).

Libraries :

CtY and others.  
Complete in most main libraries.

22. *Overland Monthly*. San Francisco, 1868-1875; n.s. 1876-1891.

1. Stebbins, Horatio, "The Brahmo Samaj, or Protestantism in India." Vol. III, n.s., pp. 168-188 (February, 1884).

Libraries :

DLC (Vols. 1- )  
MB (Vols. 1- )  
MH (Vols. 1- )  
L (Vols. 1- )  
M (Vols. 1- )

*Sa'lem Courier*, Salem, Massachusetts, September 17, 1828-?

1. A review of "Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity." [A summary of the pamphlet, using many extracts. The material was obtained from the *Brahmical Magazine* which, the editor says, "we have before us."] Vol. I, No. 8 (November 5, 1828). (Five columns, occupying entire front page and part of following.)

Libraries:

MAT

24. *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*. Boston 1833-1834.

1. A review of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1829. [Compiled from various Magazines.] Vol. I, pp. 97-117 (1833).
2. A review of Rammohun Roy's "Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds," 2d London ed., 1832; and also of other of his works. Vol. II, pp. 91-103 (1833). Reprinted in translation from the *Journal de Savans*, December 1834.
3. Announcement. [Notice of the recent publication in London of Henry Roscoe's *Life of William Roscoe*.] Vol. II, p. 146 (July, 1833).
4. Notice of the lately deceased Rammohun Roy. [Includes Rammohun Roy's autobiographical letter to Sandford Arnot, verbatim, and quotes from:
  - (a) Article by Sandford Arnot in the *Antheneum*, October, 1833.
  - (b) Biographical article by Dr. Lant Carpenter in the *Asiatic Journal*, No. 47. (Verbatim quotation except for omission of Carpenter's remarks refuting the Arnot article.)

(c) Article and biographical account of Rammohun Roy by Montgomery Robert Martin in the *Court Journal*, October 5, 1833.

(d) Biographical article on Rammohun Roy by Dr. Lant Carpenter in the Bristol *Gazette* October 2, 1833.

Vol. III, pp. 111-112 (January, 1834.)

5. A review of Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence's *Journal of a Route across India*. Vol. II, p. 342 (1833).

Libraries :

Complete in most of the main libraries.

25. *Spirit of the Pilgrims*. Boston, 1828-1833.

1. "Rammohun Roy." Article quoting from :

(a) *Christian Disciple*, Vol. V, pp. 311, 383.

(b) *Unitarian Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 166, 169.

(c) *Christian Examiner*, Vol. III, p. 169 (1826); Vol. V, pp. 176, 268, 425 (1828); Vol. IV, p. 197 (January and February, 1827).

(d) Appendix of the Third Annual *Report* of the American Unitarian Society, p. 61.

(e) *Christian Register*, April 26, September 9, 1827.

(f) *Monthly Repository of Theology*, Vol. XIII, p. 512; Vol. XV, p 2; Vol. XVI, pp. 528, 585.

(g) *Christian Watchman*, April, 1827. Article by R. Yates.

(h) *Journal of a Route across India, 1817-1818*, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzelarence.

(i) Letter from William Adam to Dr. William Ware, p. 88.

Vol. II, pp. 270-278 (May, 1829).

Libraries :

MUS

Complete in main libraries.

26. *Theological Eclectic*. Boston, 1863-1871. Became the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

1. "Rammohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj of India." Vol. VI, pp. 245-281 (June, 1869). Reprinted from the *British Quarterly Review*, April, 1869.

Libraries :

NN  
CtY  
DLC  
L  
M

27. *Unitarian*, The. Chicago, Ann Arbor, 1886-1897, Jabez Sunderland editor.

1. "Brahmoism and Christianity." [Signed "H. H."] Vol. IV, pp. 174-175 (1889).

2. "The Brahmo Samaj and the Regeneration of India." Vol. IV, pp. 203-206 (1889).

3. "Mozoomdar on Rajah Rammohun Roy." Vol. VIII, pp. 127-129 (1892). Reprinted from the *Indian Messenger*.

4. Mozoomdar, P. C., "The Brahmo Samaj." [Address delivered at the World Congress of Religions, Chicago] Vol. VIII, pp. 437-448 (1893).

5. Account of the World Congress of Religions. Vol. VIII, pp. 441-448 (1893).

Libraries :

NN (Complete)  
MB (Complete)  
MH (Complete)  
MUS

28. *Unitarian Advocate*, The. Boston, 1828-1832.

1. List of religious magazines published in the United States at this date. Vol. I, pp. 163-164 (March, 1828).

Libraries :

MH (Complete)  
MHi (Vols. 1-4; n. s. Vols. 1-4)  
MB (Vol. 14; n. s. Vols. 1-4)  
NN (In part)

29. *Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor*, Baltimore, Maryland, January, 1822—December, 1824.

1. "Rammohun Roy." [Rammohun Roy's opinions on the Divine unity and Christianity in India.] Vol. I, pp. 74-76 (1822).
2. "Religious Controversy in India." Vol. II, pp. 205-213 (February, 1822).
3. "Unitarianism in Calcutta." [Concerns the friendship of Rammohun Roy and William Adam.] Vol. III, pp. 77-80 (1822).
4. "Controversy between the Brahmuns and Missionaries." [A summary of the controversy in general, and a review of:
  - (a) "First, Second, and Final Appeals to the Christian Public in Defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,'" by Rammohun Roy.
  - (b) *The Brahmunical Magazine.*]
 Vol. IV, pp. 163-181 (1823).
5. Letters from Rammohun Roy to a "gentleman in Baltimore." [Quotations from the letters which were dated Calcutta, October 17, 1822; December 9, 1822; and were accompanied by pamphlets.] Vol. IV, pp. 163-165 (1823).
6. "New Work Proposed by Rammohun Roy." [Mention of a proposed monthly theological publication for Calcutta. The idea never materialized.] Vol. V, pp. 153-155 (1824).
7. "Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity in India." [A review, with a note on Rammohun Roy.] Vol. V, pp. 201-202 (1824).
8. Mill, The Reverend William H., Letter to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel. [Concerns Rammohun Roy.] Vol. VI, pp. 212-217 (October, 1824).
9. A note concerning Rammohun Roy's "Translation of the *Cena Upanishad*," Vol. VI, pp. 241-244 (1824).

10. "Christianity in India." [A review of "Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity in India."] Vol. VI, pp. 253-276 (November, 1824).

Libraries :

MHi (Broken)  
MH (Complete)

Also complete in DLC, MB, NN, NNU

30. *Unitarian Review*. Boston, 1874-1881.

1. "Brahmaism and Christianity." [Concerns Keshub Chunder Sen; refers to his addresses published in the *Indian Mirror*.] Vol. XII, pp. 323-328 (1879).

Libraries :

NNC  
NNU  
CY  
DLC  
MB  
MH  
MHi

31. *United States Literary Gazette*. Boston, 1824-1826.

1. A Review of "Prospects of Christianity in India," Cambridge University Press, 1824. [Unfavorable criticism of William Adam.] Vol. 1, pp. 137-139 (1824).

2. All numbers of this periodical contain information on agents and publishers throughout the United States.

Libraries :

In almost all main libraries.

#### IV. French Periodicals

1. *Review Encyclopedique*

1. Advertisement. [This advertisement of new books is confusing in that it does not make clear whether the books offered are English or French editions. From a comparison of publishers, dates and places of publication, however, it seems evident that the books are English editions published in England and India. Listed as follows :

Rammahen Rai :

(a) "Traduction du Kena Oupanishada, un des chapitres du

Sama Veda, suivant la glasse  
du celebree Chankara Tcharya  
constantant l'unité et la tout-  
puissance de l'etre supreme,  
seul object digne d'adoration,"  
par le brahmane Rammahen  
Rai, Calcutta, Philip Pereira,  
Hindoostanee Press, 1816.

- (b) "Traduction d'un abrege du Vedanta ou solution de tous les Vedas...," Calcutta 18.7. 17 pp.
- (c) "Traduction de l'ichopanishada, un des chapitres de l'Yadjoua Veda...," Calcutta, Philip Pereira, Hindoostanee Press, 1816.
- (d) "Defense du theisme en reponse a l'attaque d'un denseur l'idolatrie hindoue, a Madras," Calcutta, 1817. 52 pp.
- (e) "Seconde defense du systeme monotheiste des Vedas, en reponse a une apologie de l'etat present de culte hindoue...," Calcutta, 1817. 58 pp.
- (f) "Traduction d'un abrage de Vedanta ou solution du tous les Vedas, avec un traduction du Kena Oupanichada, un des chapitres du Sama Veda...," Londres, T. et J. Hooitt, 1817.
- (g) "Traduction du moundek-oupanichada de L'Atharva Veda...," Calcutta, D. Lankheet, Times Press. 1819. 25 pp.
- (h) "Traduction du Keth-Oupanichada de L'Yadjour Veda...," Calcutta. 1819. 40 pp.

2. Sismondi, J. C. L. de. "Recherches sur la systeme colonial pour le gouvernement de l'Inde." November 1824. pp. 635-656.

Libraries :

MH (Complete)  
MAT and others.

## **PART III**

**ACCESS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC  
TO LITERATURE CONCERNING  
RAMMOHUN ROY**

## 1. ACCESS TO PERIODICAL MATERIAL CONCERNING RAMMOHUN ROY

### CIRCULATION OF PERIODICALS

It is very difficult to obtain definite information concerning American and British periodicals circulating in the United States between the years 1816 and 1840. The chief reason for this difficulty is the apparent non-existence of statistical records setting forth the circulation of periodicals at that time. Even library accession records of that date are frequently lacking, or, if in existence, are often incomprehensible. The problems encountered in dealing with periodical literature of this period have long been recognized, for even S. N. D. North, in his *History and Present Condition of the Newspapers and Periodical Press in the United States*,<sup>1</sup> compiled in 1884, ignores the periodicals of 1800 to 1850, despite his claim that he is covering all phases of the subject.

One of the noticeable tendencies of the period 1816-1840 that one can ascertain, however, is that English periodicals circulated in competition with American publications, and were so highly regarded that articles appearing in them were frequently reprinted in American journals. Entire reprints of English periodicals were not unusual, as in the case of the *Quarterly Review*, the *Christian Observer*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Westminster Magazine*, and others. Often these English magazines were reprinted several times, the *Edinburgh Review*, for example, being reprinted in Philadelphia, in New York, and in Boston.<sup>2</sup>

1. Government Printing Office, Washington D. C., 1884. vi, 488 pp.

2. American reprints of English journals :

*Quarterly Review*, London, 1809—American edition : New York, Eastburn, Kirk and Company, 1813-1891 ; Boston, H. Huntington and Company, 1812 (?)-1882.

*Christian Observer*, London, 1812-1877. American edition : Boston, William Wells and T. B. Wait Company, 1811 ; Boston (?), 1803-1813 ; New York, Mason and Tuttle. 1 Vol., 1834.

*New Monthly Magazine*, London, 1821-1834. American edition : Boston, Allen and Ticknor, 1 Vol., 1833, 1834 ; New York, Charles S. Francis, 1833, 1834 ; Carey and Hart, 1833.

The practice of one periodical's copying material from another was also a common one among American publishers. A system of periodical and newspaper exchange, which seems to have existed among local publishers, greatly helped this procedure; furthermore, the slowness with which news was relayed often made such copying a necessity.

These characteristics of early American Journalism, though indicative of its dependence and lack of maturity, make more significant the material at hand dealing with the subject under consideration. English periodicals as a whole were more interested in Rammohun Roy than were American publications. In America the channel of accurate first-hand information about the Raja was almost entirely limited to a few Unitarian Journals. This was not the case in England; and thus the presence of English publications in America, and the system of newspaper exchange greatly facilitated a wide-spread knowledge of Rammohun Roy in the United States.

Tracts and books by Rammohun Roy were known in the United States, several editions of his works being published

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1817—. American edition: New York, Charles S. Francis, 1833—; Boston, Allen and Ticknor, 1833—; Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1833; New Haven, Peck and Norton, 2 Vols. 1834; New York (?), 1835.

*Edinburgh Review*, 1802—American edition: "The fact that 22,000 copies of *Edinburgh Review* are issued quarterly from the British Press and that the book is eagerly circulated and read, not only over all the British dominions, but also in every court and nation on continental Europe, appears to render all censure unavailing... Nevertheless, a brief notice of the characteristic qualities of this extraordinary publication may not be unacceptable to those favorers and patrons of letters in these United States, who do not happen to be intimately acquainted with its merits.... The subscribers propose to reprint the earlier numbers of the *Edinburgh Review* from volume one to twenty-eight; and the twenty-ninth, and all the succeeding numbers being already in republication in this country." Notice (March 1, 1813) from the front advertising page of the *Quarterly Review*, American edition, New York, Eastburn, Kirk and Company, 1813.

Mr. B. Livingston, in a testimonial to the *Edinburgh Review* (*Quarterly Review*, March 1, 1813), speaks of the "unusual publication's reputation" as being very great both in "Europe and America."

The earlier edition of the *Edinburgh Review* was published by Carey and Lea, Philadelphia, 1809(?)—.

by American concerns,<sup>3</sup> but periodicals containing articles and notices by and about him undoubtedly exerted the deeper influence on the reading public. This influence was greater not only because the periodicals were more prevalent, but also because bound editions of periodicals, according to the custom of the day, were a recognized part of one's home library. And since such bound periodicals had their place on the library shelf with book literature, their possible influence was prolonged from one generation to the next. One has but to glance through the book-sellers' catalogues and files of current literature of the time to realize the wide-spread popularity of this practice. Bound volumes of the *Christian Examiner*, for instance, were included in the books among which Hawthorne used to browse in the attic of the old Manse.<sup>4</sup> These Journals are still there to-day, as are also bound volumes of the *Edinburgh Review* (Edinburgh edition), and the *Christian Disciple*. These publications, according to the present occupants of the Old Manse, were in the house even before the summer that Ralph Waldo Emerson spent there writing his essay on 'Nature' (1843).

The gradual growth in popularity of American periodicals can be traced, in some instances, particularly through the notices that appeared from time to time in the publications themselves. Much information of this type can be found in the *Christian Register*, the periodical richest in Rammohun Roy material of all those that were published in the United States, and in the *Christian Watchman*, which, though not so rich in such material, does contain some of the most vicious criticism of the Raja.

By December 7, 1821, the *Christian Register* had agencies in the major cities of New England; in Connecticut: New Haven, Brooklyn, and Hartford; in Maine: Eastport and Portland; in Massachusetts: Boston (Cummings and Hillard), Newberryport, Salem, Cambridge, Lancaster, Greenfield, and Sandisfield; in New Hampshire: Portsmouth, Keene, and Concord; and in Rhode Island: Providence. This was excellent progress, considering the conditions of communication of the time, and the fact that the paper had begun to appear only in the April of the year. By July 16, 1824, agencies had been added in thirtyseven more cities<sup>5</sup>. Thus, it is

3. Refer to Bibliography, "The Works of Rammohun Roy," American editions, pages 50-52 *supra*.

4. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Old Manse", *Moses from an old Manse*, Riverside Edition of Works, Boston and new York, Houghton Mifflin Company, Vol. 11, p. 29.

5. Beverly, Cambridge, Bridgewater, Easton, Greenfield, Hingham, Lynn, Medford, Nantucket, Plymouth, Salem, Sandwich,

evident that in about three years' time the *Christian Register* had become a national journal. But its growth did not stop there. By May 20, 1826, agencies had already been established in New Bedford, Marblehead, and North Bridgewater; and by December 30 of the same year, the *Register* was able to record that it had seven agencies in Maine, four in New Hampshire, three in Connecticut, two in New York, and one in Maryland, in Rhode Island, and in Pennsylvania, in addition to its innumerable agencies in Massachusetts. By March 4, 1827, there was an agency even in Augusta, Georgia.

By 1829, however, the *Christian Watchman* had an even larger range of circulation. In June of that year one finds record of ten agencies in Maine, seven in New Hampshire, five in Rhode Island, three each in Virginia and Vermont, two each in North Carolina and Georgia, one in South Carolina, and five in Nova Scotia. In sphere of influence, nevertheless, the Unitarian *Christian Register* compared favorably with the Baptist *Christian Watchman*.

These statistics, showing the popularity of such periodicals, are of great importance as a corrective to the opposite impression that one might receive from a study of the library catalogues of the time. These catalogues, as will be evident from subsequent discussion, showed little interest in either the *Christian Register* or the *Christian Watchman*, the strong sectarian leanings of both publications being undoubtedly one of the chief causes of this minimization of their importance.

#### EXCHANGE OF PERIODICAL MATERIAL

The extent to which periodicals quoted from one another and from English publications can be realized only by a detailed investigation of various periodicals and newspapers. Such a study makes it evident that the circulation of periodicals among various publishing houses, through direct foreign subscription, through agents, or through free interchange must have been tremendous.

Springfield, Sterling, Taunton, Templeton, Worcester, Portsmouth, Concord, Amherst, Exeter, Keene, Saco, Brooklyn, Trenton, Philadelphia, Northumberland, Bath, Brunswick, Eastport, Hallowell, Kennebunk, Portland, Providence, New York, Baltimore, Huntsberg.

The *Religious Magazine*, for instance, used the following publications as the source for quotations during the year 1828 :

Date	Periodical	Number of times that periodical is quoted
January	<i>Spirit and Manners of the Age</i>	6
	<i>Amulet</i>	3
	<i>Christian Examiner</i>	3
	<i>Christian Observer</i>	2
	<i>Eclectic Review</i>	1
	<i>Wesleyan Methodist Magazine</i>	1
February	<i>Literary Gazette</i>	3
	<i>Monthly Magazine</i>	3
	<i>British Critic</i>	2
	<i>Westminster Review</i>	1
	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>	1
	<i>London Magazine</i>	1
March	<i>Evangelical Magazine</i>	9
	<i>Baptist Magazine</i>	8
	<i>Wesleyan Magazine</i>	5
	<i>Eclectic Review</i>	5
	<i>Home Missionary Magazine</i>	4
	<i>Christian Observer</i>	2
	<i>New Baptist Miscellany</i>	2
	<i>Sunday School Magazine</i>	1
	<i>Congregational Magazine</i>	1

The remaining months of that year add, among other publications, the *Christian Remembrancer*, the *Christian Guardian*, the Edinburgh *Christian Instructor*, and the *Quarterly Review* to the above list. During 1829 the same general list of magazines was consistently adhered to, thus indicating continued access to those journals. This fact also points to the conclusion that foreign magazines were subscribed to by American publishers.

After glancing at the list of publications just cited, one has to realize that the libraries gave no representation to a great number of publications of the time, and that those to which the libraries did subscribe must have been the outstanding ones. Thus, in the dissemination of periodical material containing comment on Rammohun Roy, the book-seller was a very important factor, for it was through him that most subscriptions were fulfilled, and from him that current and past issues of periodicals were obtained.

Turning to the *Christian Register*, one finds a definite editorial statement to the effect that English periodicals were regularly received by that magazine. Thus, the issue of September 14, 1821 states :

By the short London Packet, Capt. Tracy, which arrived at this port last evening from London, papers have been received from that city to August 20, two days later than by former arrivals. They contain no news of importance...<sup>6</sup>

Such statement in numerous publications make it evident that American editors were not dependent either upon libraries or local agents for their foreign periodicals.

It is interesting to trace for a few issues, beginning with December 21, 1821, the Journals used by the *Christian Register* as a source for quotation :

December 21, 1821 : *Christian Reformer*  
*European Magazine*  
*Norfolk Herald*  
*Federal Gazette*

(These four quotations, two American and two English, constitute over a third of the entire issue.)

December 28, 1821 : *Monthly Repository*  
*Gazette (?)*  
*Patriot*  
*Unitarian Miscellany*  
*Philosophical Magazine*

January 4, 1822 : *Monthly Repository*  
*Morning Chronicle*

January 11, 1822 : *London Jewish Expositor*  
*Portsmouth Journal*  
*Christian Reformer*

January 18, 1822 : *Christian Disciple*  
*Christian Reformer*  
*Edinburgh Christian Register*  
*Springfield Liberal Recorder*  
*National Gazette*  
*Portsmouth Journal*  
*Common Advertiser*  
*New York Christian Herald*

January 25, 1822 : *Monthly Repository*  
*Recorder*

February 1, 1822 : *Christian Reformer*  
*Baltimore Morning Chronicle*  
*Rhode Island American*

February 15, 1822 : *Unitarian Miscellany*  
*Christian Disciple*  
*Revue Encyclopedique*  
*New York Methodist Repository*  
*Brief Reporter*  
*National Gazette*  
*National Intelligencer*

In the later years of the *Christian Register* the publications quoted from become so numerous that they cannot be here recorded. Certain periodicals, however, appear to have been consistently received. Of this group the *Monthly Repository* and the *Asiatic Journal*, among English publications, are the two of most importance in their quantity of material on Rammohun Roy, though the *Literary Gazette* and the *Christian Reformer* were on hand with equal regularity. But more important than the English periodicals and newspapers, from the standpoint of access to Indian publications, was the Boston *Christian Register*. Tracts, pamphlets, books, and magazines from India were either sent direct from that country by missionaries such as William Adam, and Rammohun Roy, or brought to Boston by travelers and workers in foreign fields. The *Bengal Hurkuru*, for instance, was introduced to the *Christian Register* by the second of these ways, but access to later copies was frequently the result of the first method.

An idea of the extent of the material dealing with India, and in particular with Rammohun Roy, thus available to the *Christian Register* can be obtained from the following list of books, periodicals, and letters in the possession of that publication before 1836<sup>7</sup>:

(1821) 1. Letter from Rammohun Roy to David Reed, editor. No date. Recorded in issue of December 7, 1821.

2. "The Precepts of Jesus...," Calcutta, 1820. Noted and reviewed in issue of December 7, 1821.

3. English edition of the *Works* of Rammohun Roy, 1817; "Abridgement of the Vedant," to which is added a "Translation of the Kena Upanishad," viewed in issue of December 7, 1821.

7. This list includes also works accessible to the *Christian Register*, but excludes the standard English and American periodicals.

4. *Friend of India*, Quarterly, No. 1, Serampore, 1820. "A Christian Missionary's Remarks on 'The precepts of Jesus,' and comments on the same by the Editor of the *Friend of India* [Dr. Marshman]. Noted and reviewed in issue of December 7, 1821. [From the comment of William Adam it seems evident that the first four numbers of the *Friend of India* were accessible to the *Christian Register*].
- (1822) 5. Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The precepts of Jesus', Calcutta, 1821. This tract is "now before us," wrote David Reed in the issue of June 7, 1822.
- (1823) 6. Letter from Rammohun Roy to a gentleman of this city [i.e. Boston]. Issue of February 14, 1823.
7. *Brahmunical Magazine*, Calcutta, 1821, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Sent by Rammohun Roy, and noted in the issue of February 14, 1823.
8. "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance," by Rammohun Roy, Calcutta, 1822. Sent by Rammohun Roy, and noted in the issue of February 14, 1823.
9. *Gospel Advocate*, Calcutta. Quotation from the *Gospel advocate* in the *Christian Register* of February 21, 1823. No note as to whether this was a regular or a single reception of the magazine.
- (1824) 10. Letter from Rammohun Roy to David Reed in reply to one written by Reed, April, 1823; also notice of the receipt of a pamphlet, Calcutta reprint of Dr. Channing's sermon on the ordination of Jared Sparks. Issue of May 7, 1824.
11. "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the True God." by Prussunnu Koomar Thakur [Rammohun Roy], Calcutta, 1823. Rammohun Roy quotes from his tract, and David Reed comments on it in a manner that makes it evident that he is well acquainted with it. Issue of May 7, 1824. This is verified by a review of the tract, issue of May 14, 1824.

This pamphlet is probably among those sent by Rammohun Roy to David Reed, the receipt of which is recorded in the issue of May 7, 1824.

12. Annual *Report* of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society, Fifth report, January 10, 1823, Serampore. Mission Press. Sent to David Reed by Rammohun Roy, recorded in the issue of May 7, 1824.
13. "Extracts from the Missionary Works published in the latter end of last year," received from Rammohun Roy; also "the Bengal *Auxiliary Chronicle*, 1823"; recorded in the issue of May 7, 1824.
14. "The prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting it in India," Boston, Cambridge, July, 1824. Noted and reviewed in the issue of July 30, 1824.
- (1826) 15. An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of 'The Precepts of Jesus,' advertised for sale at the office of the *Christian Register*, beginning with the issue of April 29, 1826.
- (1827) 16. Letter from Rammohun Roy to "a gentleman in this country and politely forwarded to us during this past week," dated Calcutta, December 28, 1824. Quoted in issue of April 29, 1827.
17. *Bengal Hurkaru*. File of this periodical lent to the *Christian Register* "by the politeness of a gentleman who came passenger in the Mars from Calcutta." Noted in the issue of April 21, 1827. [The *Bengal Hurkaru* was accessible to the *Christian Register* at various times up to 1828 at least, if not later.]
- (1828) 18. "Answer of a Hindoo to the Question 'Why do you Frequent a Unitarian Place of Worship instead of the numerously attended established Churches ?'" by Chundru-Shekhu Dev [i.e. Rammohun Roy], Calcutta, 1828. Received from Calcutta; noted in issue of June 7, 1828.
19. "Second Memoir of 'The Calcutta Unitarian Committee,'" by J. Tuckerman. Noted in the issue of June 14, 1828.

(1834) 20. *A Review of the Labours, Opinions, and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, by Dr. Lant Carpenter, Bristol, 1833. Reviewed in the issue of April 19, 1834.

21. The Calcutta *Reformer*, edited by William Adam, was frequently received by the *Christian Register*.

22. The Calcutta *Journal* was also obtainable at various times.

As is evident from this list of first-hand material accessible to the *Christian Register* before 1836, that periodical had a more direct contact with Indian sources than did other American journals. The *Christian Register* was undoubtedly the primary outlet in the United States for material on Rammohun Roy.<sup>8</sup> This strong current of inflowing Hinduism was in turn diverted into various other American publications. Thus, the *Christian Examiner*, the *Christian Disciple*, the *Unitarian Miscellany*, and the *Christian Watchman*, although they obtained information on Rammohun Roy either directly from India or from India through England, also shared in the rich fund of *Christian Register* material. Occasionally the *Christian Register* borrowed Roy material from these journals, but quite obviously it led the field. The importance attached to Rammohun Roy in all these periodicals is seen by the fact that articles by and about him were frequently front page features.

But even the periodicals strong in first-hand information about Roy were dependent, to a large extent, upon English sources for their data. The American Magazines that were only casually interested in the Indian reformer were almost entirely dependent upon English periodicals; to these they looked as their guide in choice of materials—particularly in the case of publications of prestige. Thus, the *American Almanac* (1835) borrowed in entirety the death notice of Rammohun Roy that had appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of October, 1833, while the *Christian Journal* of 1817<sup>9</sup> reprinted an article on Christianity in India which had first been published in the *British Review*. The *Christian Disciple* borrowed material on Roy from the *Monthly Repository* and other Unitarian periodicals, while the *Missionary Register* of London served as a source for the *Christian Magazine* of Providence, and for the *Christian Examiner* of Boston and New York. Other publications, as well as the current Unitarian magazine in the United

8. Refer to bibliography of Roy material in the *Christian Register*, pages 197-152, *supra*.

9. Vol. I, p. 365.

States, also provided the *Christian Examiner* with information about Roy. The biography of Rammohun Roy in the October 1, 1833 issue of the London *Atheneum* was frequently quoted in American publications, either directly from the *Atheneum* itself, or from reprints in other English publications, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the *Literary Gazette*.

The number of such instances of the interchange of periodical material could be indefinitely continued. In most cases the magazine reprinting an article gave credit to the source from which it was taken, but frequently the magazine did not admit its source, even though the article can be recognized as a restatement of material found elsewhere. The *Monthly Repository* seems to have been particularly abused in this manner.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the American public had ample opportunity to read of Rammohun Roy in the current periodicals of the time that displayed an interest in the Indian reformer. The circulation of these periodicals, however, is difficult to establish, since statistics are obtainable for neither the American nor the English publications, and the record of increase in the number of agencies of the various periodicals can be taken as little more than an indication of the extent of public access. For more definite data, therefore, one turns to the library catalogues of those years.

#### PUBLIC ACCESS THROUGH LIBRARIES TO PERIODICAL MATERIAL DEALING WITH RAMMOHUN ROY

An analysis of the library catalogues of 1819-1844 does not give a complete picture of the periodical preferences of the American reading public of the first half of the nineteenth century, but it does give a fair idea of the preferences of the public that patronized the libraries.<sup>10</sup>

Judging from such catalogues, the outstanding American publication seems to have been the *North American Review*, though very close to it in popularity, and representative of the religious trend in American thought of the day, was the *Home Missionary Magazine*. Other religious magazines were variously represented, according to the sectarian leanings of the institution considered. The most frequently subscribed to among the non-sectarian periodicals, exclusive of the *North American Review*, were apparently the *Analectic Magazine*, the *American Monthly Magazine*, the *American*

10. Exclusive, of course, of reading preferences expressed in personal libraries.

*Quarterly Review*, and possibly the *American Almanac*. There were, in addition, many magazines of lesser importance that were founded today and discontinued tomorrow, indicative of the unstable financial condition of American Journalism.

CIRCULATING LIBRARIES.—In attempting to estimate the Rammohun Roy material accessible to the public through circulating libraries, one is dependent on the catalogues of such institutions as the Boylston Circulating Library, the Boston Young Men's Society, the Charleston Circulating Library, James Haumont's Circulating Library, the Irving Circulating Library, the Lexington Social Library, the Suffolk Circulating Library, the Mechanics' Exchange and Reading Room, and S. H. Parker's Circulating Library. A noticeable feature of all these catalogues, as far as current magazines for circulation are concerned, is the small number of subscriptions to religious periodicals. Among such journals the *Missionary Magazine* was the most consistently subscribed to. As a general rule, circulating libraries seem to have been careful to subscribe only to magazines with a broad general appeal, avoiding publications of interest to only a limited public; hence, in the list of non-sectarian periodicals, one finds a consistent repetition of the strongest American journals, such as the *American Monthly Magazine*, the *North American Review*, and the *Analectic Magazine*.

The staples among English publications, which were generally subscribed to by the circulating libraries, included the *British Critic*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, and the *Quarterly Review*.

From such subscription lists it is quite evident that material on Rammohun Roy was not particularly accessible to the public through the medium of American circulating libraries. It must be remembered, however, that such libraries were also subscription agencies, and that their catalogues and advertisements did not always list all the specific periodicals on hand. Thus, the Irving Circulating Library (1836) announced that it received subscriptions "for all periodicals published in the United States," while the Mechanics' Exchange and Reading Room stated that it was "always supplied with the latest intelligence, arrivals, importations, and clearances, newspapers and price currents, literary magazines and mechanical publications."

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARIES.—Religious periodicals were naturally most readily accessible in the theological libraries of the time. A complete cross-section of religious magazines, however, is not usually found in such libraries, since

sectarianism limited the choice in subscriptions. Thus, the General Theological Seminary of New York City (Episcopal) seems, according to its catalogue of 1834, to have rigidly excluded any Unitarian material. As a result, any periodical information concerning Rammohun Roy that was accessible in this library must have come through Trinitarian publications. Of these, there were apparently only two that interested themselves, even to a slight extent, in Rammohun Roy—the *Christian Journal* and the *Christian Herald*.

All theological libraries, however, did not restrict their choice of periodicals along such rigid sectarian lines. Andover Theological Seminary, for instance, with its main library, the library of the Society for Inquiry, and the Porter Rhetorical Society Library, gave its readers access to Rammohun Roy not only through Unitarian publications such as the *Christian Disciple*, but also through the *Christian Herald* and the *North American Review*. Even Indian publications, such as the *Friend of India* (Calcutta) and the *Oriental Christian Spectator* (Bombay), were on hand, while the *Periodical Account of the Baptist Missions* (London) was also accessible.

Through the *Christian Register* knowledge of Rammohun Roy was carried to libraries as far west as Ohio, where the Theological Seminary of Kenyon College subscribed to that periodical.

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES—Judging from the early catalogues, college libraries as a type seem to have been stronger in English than in American periodicals. The representation of American magazines, in colleges established on a religious foundation, was usually determined by the sectarian leading of the institution, while colleges not definitely sectarian seem to have confined their selection to the *North American Review*, the *Annual Register*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Christian Observer*, the *Quarterly Review*, and similar magazines.

Religious periodicals and other less common publications usually found their way into these institutions, if they did so at all, through the numerous college club libraries. Thus, the Dartmouth catalogue of 1825 records no religious periodical of interest to the topic under consideration, but the Social Friends Library of Dartmouth lists the *Christian Examiner* as a periodical subscribed to at the time. A similar situation existed at Brown University, where the United Brothers Society took the *Christian Disciple* and possessed a copy of the *Gospel Advocate*. Brown itself, however, did subscribe to the *Monthly Repository* for a number of years.

On the basis of the catalogues of 1830 and 1831, Harvard University seems to have had the best library of the time as far as access to Rammohun Roy material in periodicals was concerned. This seems to have been the only library, besides the Boston Atheneum, that subscribed simultaneously to the *Christian Register*, the *Christian Disciple*, the *Christian Examiner*, and the *Unitarian Miscellany*. Of American periodicals that interested themselves in Rammohun Roy, the following were listed in the Harvard library catalogue of 1830-1831.

- American Magazine*, 1787-1788.
- Christian Disciple*, 1813-1823.
- North American Review*, 1815-
- Analectic Magazine*, 1815, 1818-1820.
- American Monthly Magazine*, 1817-1818.
- Christian Register*, 1821.
- Unitarian Miscellany*, 1822-1824.
- Christian Examiner*, 1824.
- New York Review*, 1825-1826.
- American Quarterly Review*, 1827-1828.
- United States Literary Gazette*

Whether these magazines were received currently is not known, but it is likely that at least those of local publication were so received.

English periodicals represented at the Harvard University library included the usual *Edinburgh Review*, subscribed to from the year 1802; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, subscribed to from the year 1819;<sup>11</sup> the *Gentleman's Magazine*, regularly subscribed to before 1800, but not after that year, at least not before 1830 or 1831; and the *Monthly Magazine* and *British Quarterly*, regularly subscribed to before 1800. The *Annual Register*, as recorded in the catalogue of 1830, was received up to the year 1826, but it was probably continued after that date. Other English periodicals interested in Rammohun Roy that were accessible at this university library were the *Monthly Review*, the *Monthly Repository* and the *Quarterly Review*.

The libraries of Yale and Brown make a very poor showing beside that of Harvard, as far as periodical material dealing with Rammohun Roy is concerned. Yale library was apparently the most deficient of the three. Among British publications, only the *Christian Observer*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Quarterly Review* seem to have been consistently subscribed to by that institution. The *Atheneum Magazine* of 1822 is recorded in the 1822 catalogue

11. This periodical was currently received after 1835; it is probable that it was also so received from 1819 to 1835.

of the Brothers Library of Yale, and was possibly received from that date on. A few issues of the *Analectic Magazine*, the *North American Review*, the *American Magazine*, and the *Christian Magazine* also seem to have been accessible, but no issue dates were recorded in the catalogues of 1822 or 1823.

Compared with these institutions, Amherst College, Williams College, and the University of Vermont were not strong in their library subscriptions to periodicals; the journals that they did receive were the standard ones, such as the *Edinburgh Review* and the *North American Review*.

GOVERNMENT LIBRARIES—Of federal and state libraries, the Congressional Library at Washington was naturally the most complete in its representation of periodicals, as well as in other departments of literature. A study of the catalogues of 1820, 1827, 1828, 1830, 1834 and 1839 shows that by 1830 that library was subscribing to as many as twelve English publications interested in Indian and Rammohun Roy material, but to only three American periodicals of similar interest. The three American publications were the *American Monthly Magazine*, 1824, which was in the library by 1830, but was of too early a date to contain Roy material; the *New York Review*, complete before 1830; and some issues of the *North American Review*.<sup>1</sup>

English periodicals represented in the Congressional Library are much more pertinent than the American journals to the subject under discussion. These included *Blackwood's*, received from 1818; the *London Atheneum* and the *Asiatic Journal*, both received from 1829 to 1839 and also on subsequent dates; the *New Monthly Magazine* and the *Oriental Herald*. The *Court Journal* was subscribed to from the year 1829, but the issues for 1833—the only ones containing material pertinent to Rammohun Roy—were not received. The Congressional Library files of the *Literary Gazette* and the *Mirror of Literature* also lack the issues for the year 1833. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Monthly Review* were fully represented for the period of years under consideration.

The standard English publications were offered by the Library of the Massachusetts State Department, as were also the *Morning Chronicle* and the *London Times*, though the latter seems not to have been received after 1820. Four American periodicals of significance to the subject under

1. The library catalogue reads: *North American Review*, Vol. XXXII. Whether this means that this volume was the only copy of the review in the possession of the library is uncertain.

consideration were also represented, though only two of these, the *Analectic Magazine* and the *American Monthly Magazine*, were present in the issues containing Roy material.

Other federal or state libraries, except those dealing with politics or law, seem to have been relatively poor in periodicals.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETIES**—Little new information concerning periodicals is gained from a study of the libraries of the historical societies. In the case of the Massachusetts Historical Society, no knowledge of the publications received during the years 1816-1840 is obtainable, since no catalogue was printed after 1811 until about 1870 or 1880. Such information can be had, however, for the New York Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society, the latter of which published a catalogue in 1837.

Both of these institutions seem to have subscribed to the standard English American periodicals. The American Antiquarian Society, in addition, received the *Christian Journal* (1817-1830), the *Christian Register* (1821-), the *Christian Disciple* and the *United States Literary Gazette*. Of the English periodicals listed, none seem to have been accessible in the issues containing Rammohun Roy material.

**ATHENEAUM SOCIETIES AND LIBRARY COMPANIES**—Atheneaum societies and library companies, as a unit, were the strongest of all library groups in the possession of Rammohun Roy material. The Atheneaums as a whole, judging from the library catalogues, seem to have been somewhat more scholarly in taste than the library companies. Also, they frequently showed sectarian leanings in their choice of material, whereas the library companies, more like the public libraries of today, were non-sectarian in selection.

In libraries of this group, particularly in strong library companies, the separate periodicals tended to be more continuous than in libraries of other types. Thus, the periodicals of the Salem Atheneaum, including the *Annual Register*, the *British Critic*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Monthly Magazine*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, and the *Quarterly Review*, all of which offered public access to Rammohun Roy material, were present in continuous series.

The Boston Atheneaum was also particularly strong in Roy material. Strongly Unitarian in its membership, it displayed on its library shelves the *Christian Register*, the *Christian Disciple*, the *Unitarian Miscellany*, and the

*Christian Examiner*, in addition to the usual staples of periodical literature. The rich supply of information about Roy thus accessible to the public was increased by the presence of the *Asiatic Journal* and the *Monthly Repository*. The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* and the *Revue Encyclopedique* were also among the periodicals received by the Atheneaum.

At the Portsmouth Atheneaum, the *Christian Register* and the *Christian Disciple* were subscribed to, in addition to the standard English and Amerian publications.

The oldest and possibly the strongest of the library companies of the time was the Philadelphia Library Company. This organization gave its readers quite an extensive selection of periodical reading matter, though English publications represented were about three times as numerous as American. Periodicals on hand, according to the catalogue of 1835, included the *Monthly Repository* of March, 1819, and the twelve journals of major importance in the study of Ranumohun Roy material. The Philadelphia Library Company was apparently non-sectarian in its choice of reading matter, subserbing, among local Unitarian journals, to the *Christian Disciple*. The *Select Journal*, the *North American Review*, the *Analectic Review*, and the *American Quarterly Review* complete the list of periodicals important for this study.

In general, the periodical material found in the institutions discussed above is representative of that found in other library companies and Atheneaum societies of the time, such as the Baltimore Library Company, the Charleston Library Company, the Boston Library Society, the New York Library Society, the Providence Atheneaum, and the Philadelphia Atheneaum. The quantity of such material was naturally determined by the financial background of the institution, while the type of religious periodical seems to have varied in accordance with geographical location. Libraries in New England leaned especially toward Unitarianism, while those further south inclined toward Trinitarianism, and reflected their sectarian tendencies in the publications chosen.

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## 2. ACCESS TO BOOKS CONCERNING RAMMOHUN ROY

In the attempt to estimate the access of the American public to literature dealing with Rammohun Roy, the accessibility of periodical material of this nature has been discussed. Next to be considered is the public access to literature in book form containing discussion of Rammohun Roy and to works written by Roy himself.

With this end in view, the following two lists of books in the possession of American libraries before 1840 are presented: the first, a list of works by Rammohun Roy; the second, a list of important books containing references to him. This information is followed by a third list, containing a record of library catalogues published in the United States from the year 1816 to 1850.

### WORKS BY RAMMOHUN ROY

#### *Acquired by American Libraries before 1840*

1. "The Precepts of Jesus, to which is added the First, Second, and Final Defence, in Reply to Dr. Marshman," Boston, Christian Register Office, 1828.

#### Libraries :

MH-A (Acquired before 1838)  
RPA (Acquired before 1828)  
MCRC (Acquired before April, 1828)

2. "The Precepts of Jesus, to which is added the First, and second Appeal in Reply to Dr. Marshman," New York, B. Bates, 1825.

#### Libraries :

MAS (Acquired before 1842)  
MH (Acquired before 1830)  
NMT (Acquired before 1834)  
MCRC (Acquired before May 6, 1826)  
CYMI (Acquired before 1844)

3. "Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus," Calcutta, 1823; London, Hunter, 1823; Boston, Christian Register Office, 1828.

#### Library :

MAT (?) (Acquired before 1840)

## 4. Bengalee Grammar, Calcutta, 1826.

Library : **MH** (Acquired before 1830)

## 5. "An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus.'" Calcutta, 1820.

Library : **MCRC** (In the Theological Reading Room by May 6, 1826)

## 6. "The Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting It in India," Cambridge, University Press ; Boston (?), Christian Register Office (?), July, 1824 ; London, C. Fox, 1825 ; Calcutta, 1824. 138 pp.

Library : **MCRC** (Boston ed. (?), 1824. Offered for sale about July 30, 1824.)

## 7. "Defence of Hindu Theism, in Reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras," Calcutta, 1817.

Library : **L** (Acquired before 1834)

## 8. "Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India and of the General Character and Condition of its Inhabitants," with notes and illustrations, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1832.

Library : **L** (Acquired before 1835)

## BOOKS CONCERNING RAMMOHUN ROY

*Acquired by American Libraries before 1840*1. Dubois, Abbe J. A., *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India ; and of their Institutions, religious and civil*, translated from the French. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817 ; Philadelphia, Carey and Lea, 1818.

## Libraries :

MWA (Philadelphia 1818 ed. ; acquired before 1836)  
 MH-A-S (Philadelphia 1818 ed. (?), " 1830)  
 MH-A (London 1817 ed., acquired before 1838)  
 MBCC (Acquired before 1830)  
 MH (Acquired before 1830)  
 MMA (Acquired before 1830)  
 NMT (Philadelphia 1818 ed., acquired before 1837)  
 DW (Acquired before 1834)  
 RHCC (Acquired before 1823)  
 PA (Philadelphia 1818 ed., acquired before 1823)  
 M (Philadelphia 1818 ed., acquired before 1828)  
 MBS (Acquired before 1835)

2. Fitzclarence, Lieutenant-Colonel, *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, 1817-1818*, London, J. Murray, 1819.

## Library :

DLC (London 1819 ed., acquired before 1839)

3. Heber, Amelia, *Memoir of the Life of Reverend Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta*, New York, G. and C. Carvill, 1830.

## Libraries :

DLC (New York 1830 ed., acquired before 1831)  
 M (New York 1830 ed., acquired before 1832)  
 NMT (New York 1830 ed., acquired before 1834)  
 MAT (Acquired before 1834)  
 CTW (Acquired before 1837)  
 MMA (Acquired before 1844)  
 VU (New York 1830 ed., acquired before 1842)

4. Heber, The Right Reverend Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, London, J. Murray, 1828-1829 ; Philadelphia, Cary and Lea, 1828, 1829, 1849.

## Libraries :

NMT (Philadelphia 1829 ed., acquired before 1828)  
 MH-A (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1830, Porter Collection)  
 MBS (Acquired before 1830)  
 DLC-S (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1830)  
 F (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1831)  
 RPB (Philadelphia 1829 ed., acquired before 1831)  
 M (Philadelphia 1829 ed., acquired before 1832)  
 MBY (Acquired before 1833)  
 DW (Acquired before 1834)  
 MWA (Philadelphia 1829 ed. acquired before 1836)  
 MdS (Philadelphia 1829 ed. acquired before 1837)  
 RPB-U (Acquired before 1837)  
 DLC (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1839)  
 MAT (London 1828 ed., acquired before 1840)  
 NH-D-S (Acquired before 1841)  
 MAS (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1842)  
 VU (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1843)  
 MMA (Philadelphia 1828 ed., acquired before 1844)

5. Heber, The Right Reverend Reginald, *Letters*. Boston, 1822.

Libraries :

MAT (Acquired before 1827)  
MICC (Acquired before 1830)

6. Roscoe, Henry, *Life of William Roscoe* by his son. London, T. Caddell; Edinburgh, Blackwood; Boston, Odiorne, Russell and Metcalf, 1833, 2 vols.

Libraries :

NMT (Boston 1833 ed., acquired before 1834)  
MAT (Boston 1833 ed., acquired before 1834)  
RPA (Boston 1833 ed., acquired before 1837)  
MS (Boston 1833 ed., acquired before 1839)  
MeB-A (Acquired before 1839)

#### LIBRARY CATALOGUES

*Published in the United States, 1816-1850*

Institution	Dates of Catalogues	Location of Catalogues
Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia, Pa.	1837	MH
Alleghany College Library, Meadville, Pa.	1823, 1821	MAT, MH
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.	1837	MS, MWA
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.	1824	CtY
Amherst College Library, Amherst, Mass.	1827	MWA
Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. (Now Cambridge)	1819, 1833	MH, MH-A
Porter Rhetorical Society	1830	MH
Society of Inquiry	1830	MH
Apprentices' Library, Philadelphia, Pa.	1831	MAT
Atheneum of Salem, Salem, Mass.	1818, 1826, 1842	MAT, CtY
Baltimore Library Company, Baltimore, Md.	1816, 1823, 1831, 1841	MAT, NN, MH
Boston Atheneum, Boston, Mass.	1827, 1834, 1840	MAT, MH etc.

Institutions	Dates of Catalogues	Location of Catalogues
Boston Library, "In the arch over Franklin Place," Boston, Mass.	1824, 1830, 1838, 1844	MH, MH-A, DLC
Boston Society of Natural History, Boston, Mass.	1837	DLC
Boston Young Men's Society, Boston, Mass.	1833	MAT
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine	1821	MH
Atheneum Society	1839, 1818, 1826, 1843	MH
Boylston Circulating Library, Boston, Mass.	1830	MH
Brown University Library, Providence, R. I.	1826, 1843	MH, RPB
United Brothers Society	1821, 1824, 1829, 1837, 1841	MH, RPB
Philmenian Society	1821, 1824, 1829, 1838, 1841	MH, RPB
Charleston Circulating Library, Charleston, S. C.	1819, 1821	MS
Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S. C.	1826	MS, MH, C <sup>t</sup> Y
Charleston Union Library, Charleston, S. C.	1820	MS
Congress, Library of, Washington, D. C.	1827, 1828, 1820, 1830, 1831, 1834, 1839	MH, etc
Library of State Dept.	1825, 1830	MH, DLC
Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N. H.	1825	MH
Social Friends Library	1820, 1824, 1831, 1841	MH
United Fraternity	1820, 1824, 1835	MH
Franklin Typographical Society Library, Boston	1833	MH
Friends' Library, Philadelphia, Pa.	1831	MH
General Theological Seminary Library, New York City	1824	MH
Irving Circulating Library, Boston, Mass.	1836	MH
James Hammond's Circulating Library, Newport, R. I.	1823	MH
Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.	1830, 1831	MH, MS

Institutions	Dates of Catalogues	Location of Catalogues
Kenyon College Theological Seminary Library, Gambier, Ohio	1837	MH
Lexington Social Library, Lexington, Mass.	1831	MH
Loganian Library, Philadelphia, Pa.	1837	MH, L, MAT, MB
Maryland State Library, Baltimore, Md.	1837	MH
Massachusetts State Library of the General Court, Boston, Mass.	1831, 1839	MS, MAT
Mercantile Library Association of Boston, Mass.	1848	CtY
Mercantile Library of New York, New York City	1825, 1828, 1834, 1837	MH, NN, etc.
Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, Pa.	1850	CtY
Miami University Library, Oxford, Ohio	1833	MH
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.		
Philological Society	1824	MAT
New York Historical Society, New York City	1836	NT, MAT
New York State Library, Albany, New York	1846	MH, MS
New York Society Library, New York City	1825, 1838	MH, NN
Philadelphia Atheneum		
Philadelphia Library Company, Philadelphia, Pa.	1835	NNC, NN, etc.
Philadelphia Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, Pa.	1828, 1832, 1831, 1840	MH
Portland Atheneum, Portland, Maine	1828	MWA
Portsmouth Atheneum, Portsmouth, Maine	1833	CtY
Providence Atheneum, Providence, R. I.	1837, 1839	CtY
Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Providence, R. I.	1843	CtY, MH
Salem Mechanics Library, Salem, Mass.	1832, 1840, 1851	MH, MWA

Institutions	Dates of Catalogues	Location of Catalogues
Suffolk Circulating Library, Boston, Mass.	1822	MH
University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.	1836, 1843	MH
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.	1828	MH
Washington Library Company, Washington, D. C.	1834	MAT
Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn.	1837	MH
Williams College, Williams- town, Mass.	1828	MWA
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	1823	CtY
Brothers Library	1822	CtY
Calliopean Society	1822	CtY
Linonian Library	1822	CtY
Moral Library	1822	CtY
Young Men's Institute, Hartford, Conn.	1844	CTY

### 3. PRIVATE SOURCES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING RAMMOHUN ROY

PRIVATE LIBRARIES—Before one can form a final opinion about the accessibility of Rammohun Roy material, either in periodical or book form, one must give some consideration to the libraries belonging to private persons.

Judging from the considerable amount of information that was current about Rammohun Roy during the years 1816-1840, in contrast with the limited number of works by Roy that were available to the reading public through institutional libraries, it seems natural to presume that some other source of information existed. Various circumstances seem to strengthen this supposition. The entire Boston edition, 1828 of the "Precepts of Jesus," for instance, apparently found its way into only three libraries other than private before 1840. Again, the "Prospects of Christianity" seems to have been obtainable only at the reading room of the *Christian Register* office. No copy is

recorded to have been in the Harvard Library,<sup>13</sup> despite the fact that this tract was published by the University Press under the auspices of some of the most prominent members of the university faculty.

All these facts point to but one conclusion. These works by Rammohun Roy must have found their way into a sufficient number of private libraries to make the owning of them by institutional libraries unnecessary. Such private possession is further indicated by the influx of Roy literature which began about the year 1840 and increased during the period 1850-1870. During this time books by Roy began to appear in various libraries, particularly in those of Harvard and the Boston Atheneum, presented by such men as Andrews Norton, Charles Pickering, Jared Sparks, and others who had been active Unitarians or interested collectors. These books were presented either as gifts or bequests, frequently the latter, as in the instance of the Massachusetts Historical Society which, in 1885, received more than ten books of this nature during one day.

This fund of Rammohun Roy material, while still a part of various private libraries, had in all probability not been confined to one reader. The owners of these books had undoubtedly lent them to their friends, thus creating another source of contact between the American reading public and the Indian reformer.

LETTERS—Rammohun Roy had always been interested in America. Indeed, he had hoped to visit that country in the spring of 1834. America, with its freedom from religious practices and prejudices, was to him the symbol of everything that India was not.<sup>14</sup> It was only natural, therefore, after his interest in Unitarianism had established a contact, that he should correspond with various Americans.

Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, as head of the Unitarian missionary work in foreign lands, seems to have been Roy's most consistent correspondent, though unfortunately the letters that passed between the two have not been located. David Reed, editor of the *Christian Register*, was also active in his correspondence with Roy, and Dr. William Ward, after his return to the United States, was the recipient of at least one letter from Roy. From various refer-

### 13. Catalogue of 1830-31.

14. See letter from Rammohun Roy to David Reed, Calcutta, January 13, 1824; printed in the *Christian Register*, Vol. III, p. 154 (May 7, 1824).

ences and quotations in the letters of David Reed, it is evident that Dr. William Ellery Channing was also correspondent of Rammohun Roy, though no actual manuscripts of Channing's letters to him have yet been discovered.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to this correspondence, many letters were also written about Roy, recording the impression that he made on those with whom he came in contact. Miss Lucy Aikin, for instance, who knew Roy socially in London, kept Dr. Channing informed of her impressions of this great man;<sup>16</sup> but the most consistent information of this type was that contributed by William Adam, Unitarian missionary in Calcutta.<sup>17</sup> These letters, though undoubtedly but a few of the entire number written about Rammohun Roy, are consistent in showing that he created in the mind of the writer a feeling of reverence for his fine character. The descriptions of him recorded in these letters are much more than mere descriptions of his unusual appearance; they are appreciations of the man himself.

There remains, in all probability, much more of the Roy correspondence yet to be discovered. That which is available, however, either in the form of letters written by Roy to Americans, letters written by Americans to Roy, or letters written about Roy by Americans or to Americans from persons in England or India, is listed in the following tabulation for purpose of concise presentation.

#### THE RAMMOHUN ROY CORRESPONDENCE

##### I. Letters from Rammohun Roy to Americans

1. Rammohun Roy to David Reed, editor of the *Christian Register*. Published in *Christian Register*, December 7, 1821, p. 65.

15. The writer was unable to find these letters either at the American Unitarian Association, among the personal papers of the Reed estate, or in public and private libraries.

16. Miss Aikin's letters (see page 153 *infra*) are referred to and quoted by S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. lxxi, lxix. The manuscripts of the letters have not been located.

17. William Adam's letters are recorded, and some are quoted, in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.* For a complete list see page 152 *infra*. In the "General Bibliography" is given a list of the published letters of William Adam (complete or extracts) accessible to the writer personally; the location of such letters is also given. No manuscript letters have been found.

2. Rammohun Roy to David Reed, in answer to three specific questions asked him by David Reed. Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. III, p. 154 (May 7, 1824).
3. Rammohun Roy to "A gentleman in this city [ i.e., Boston ] who has lately visited him in Calcutta and who became acquainted with him there." Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. I, p. 107 (February 14, 1823).
4. Rammohun Roy to H. Ware, concerning the prospects of Christianity in India and answering twenty-four questions asked by Mr. Ware; February, 1824. Published (with a letter from William Adam answering a similar set of questions) by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India," 1824.
5. Rammohun Roy to William Ward of Medford. Letter dated Calcutta, February 5, 1824. Manuscript in possession of Massachusetts Historical Association, Boston, Massachusetts.
6. Rammohun Roy to "a gentleman in this country and politely forwarded to us during the past week." Letter dated Calcutta, December 28, 1824. Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. VI, p. 66 (April 28, 1827).
7. Rammohun Roy to the Boston India Association, December, 1825, acknowledging receipt of money sent for the Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta. The letter is recorded, but not quoted, in *Christian Register*, April 22, 1826.
8. Rammohun Roy to "a Gentleman in Baltimore." Letter dated Calcutta, October 17, 1822; Quoted in part in *Unitarian Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 163-165 (1823).
9. Rammohun Roy to "a Gentleman in Baltimore." Letter dated Calcutta, December 9, 1822; quoted in part in *Unitarian Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 163-165 (1823).
10. Rammohun Roy to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman. These letters have not been traced, unless they are some of those referred to above, which is very likely.
11. Correspondence between William Ellery Channing and Rammohun Roy is likely, but cannot be definitely traced.

II. Letters from Americans to Rammohun Roy

1. David Reed to Rammohun Roy, April 29, 1823, concerning three specific questions on various phases of Christianity in India. Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. III, p. 154 (May 7, 1824).
2. Henry Ware to Rammohun Roy, concerning the prospects of Christianity in India. Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, as "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India." 1824.
3. Joseph Tuckerman to Rammohun Roy.

III. Letters written about Rammohun Roy by Americans, or to Americans from persons in England or India

1. William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman; dated Calcutta, February 18-20, 1826. Explains Roy's relationship to Hinduism and Christianity. Published in S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy* p. 117.
2. William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman; dated Calcutta, October 14, 1826. Published in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
3. William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman; dated June 24, 1827. Published in S. D. Collet *op. cit.*, p. 118.
4. William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman; dated November 30, 1827. Mentioned by S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
5. William Adam to Dr. Joseph Tuckerman: dated September 1, 1828. Quoted from in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
6. William Adam to the Reverend E. S. Gannett, Boston; dated August 3, 1826. Quoted from in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
7. William Adam to W. J. Fox; dated September 10, 1827. Quoted from in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, pp.
8. Dr. Joseph Tuckerman to the Unitarian Association, concerning Rammohun Roy. Letter dated June, 1828. Published in the Third *Annual Report* of the Unitarian Association. Manuscript in possession of Unitarian Society Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

9. Dr. Joseph Tuckerman to Dr. Lant Carpenter, giving his impression of Rammohun Roy. Letter dated October (?), 1833. Published in Mary Carpenter, *Last Days...of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, p. 174.
10. Lucy Aikin to Dr. William Ellery Channing : dated Hampstead, October 23, 1833. Quoted from in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, pp. lxix-lxx.
11. Lucy Aikin to Dr. William Ellery Channing ; dated September 6, 1831. Quoted from in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, p. lxxi. (Miss Aikin seems to have frequently corresponded with Dr. Channing ; doubtless, therefore, Roy was mentioned more often than would be implied by these two letters only.)
12. Letters from a Unitarian Clergyman on Rammohun Roy ; dated Liverpool, April 19, 1830 and April, 29, 1830. Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. X, p. 180 (August 13, 1830).
13. Letter from the English Unitarian Association for the purpose of correcting certain statements made concerning Rammohun Roy in the *Morning Chronicle*. Published in *Christian Register*, Vol. X, p. 128 (August 6).
14. Dr. T. Boot to Mr. J. B. Estlin, describing the meeting of Rammohun Roy and Dr. Tuckerman. Letter dated London, November 27, 1833. Published in Mary Carpenter, *Last Days...of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, p. 169 ; also in S. D. Collet, *op. cit.*, pp. lxii-lxv.

Thus, through letters written about Rammohun Roy, as well as through his own correspondence with Americans ; through periodical and book literature by and about him in circulation in the various public and private libraries, Rammohun Roy became known to the American public. On the basis of this information, an attempt is made to estimate his possible influence on American thought during the years 1816-1840.

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#### 4. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the material here presented, it is evident that English and American periodicals were the agencies of major importance in making Rammohun Roy known in the United States.

The works of Rammohun Roy, letters written by and about him, and travel books containing references to him may be said to constitute a group of secondary importance. Among these, the works of Roy, which seem to have circulated freely among the Unitarians of New England, were probably the most powerful point of contact between that group and the Indian reformer. Private correspondence between Rammohun Roy and American religious leaders was also of great importance, both to the individual, and—when such letters were published, as for example, in the *Christian Register* or the *Unitarian Miscellany*—also to the public. Of uncertain influence was the personal contact of Rammohun Roy with Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, with Dr. Kirkland, former president of Harvard, with Dr. Boot, and with other Americans in England.<sup>18</sup>

But for various reasons English and American periodicals that dealt with Roy were undoubtedly the source of greatest influence in making him known in the United States. Periodicals had extensive circulation, and their readers were numerous. Moreover, the price of magazines was little as compared with that of books. It was through American and English periodicals, therefore, that the two general types of criticism and discussion of Rammohun Roy came before the American reading public of the period 1816-1840. One type of article, appearing particularly during the early years of the period, presented him as a literary man, a Hindu writer and philosopher; the second type, which began to appear as soon as Roy had become openly interested in Christianity and particularly, in Unitarianism, heralded him as a religious figure, a Christian and Unitarian convert.

The first important discussion of Rammohun Roy as a writer and philosopher appeared in the *North American*

18. Rammohun Roy's meeting Dr. Tuckerman, Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Dewey is discussed in a letter from Dr. Boot, dated London, November 27, 1833. S. D. Collet, *Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. lxii-lxv.

Review as early as 1818.<sup>19</sup> This was an article explaining the literary place of the Vedas, and commenting on their translation by Roy :

A considerable excitement has lately been produced in India by the attempts of a very wealthy and learned native, named Rammohun Roy, to restore the pure doctrines of the Vedas. He has translated several chapters of these sacred books into the Bengalee language, and circulated them among his countrymen. The parts which he has translated are those which treat of a Supreme Being, his character....He claims, these had been entirely misinterpreted by the Brahmins....Numbers, who knew nothing of the Vedas except from the interpretations of their priests, are [through Roy's translations] made acquainted with its true and most important doctrines....Their influence is spreading, and strong hopes may justly be entertained of great and beneficial results.

We have before us three pamphlets published during the last eighteen months in Calcutta by Rammohun Roy....We purpose to give such extracts of these pamphlets as may serve to make our readers somewhat acquainted with the present notions of the Hindoos, the pure doctrines of their sacred books, and the views and motives of the learned native whom we have mentioned....The author's great object seems to be to do away with worship of idols and to introduce in its stead that of one Supreme Being.

After a summary and a detailed discussion of Roy's ideas, illustrated by extracts from the translations of the Vedanta, the reviewer concluded :

We have dealt longer on this subject, because it is novel, at least in this country, and because *it is likely hereafter to attract much attention*. Rammohun Roy is not a Christian, it is true, but the doctrine he inculcates differs very little from the Christian doctrine respecting the nature and attributes of the Deity. It is the same in its spirit and objects.

Other discussions of Roy from the literary and philosophical angle appeared in the *New York Review* and the *Analectic Magazine*. The first of these, sufficiently outstanding to have influenced the train of American thought by drawing attention to Roy's "Precepts of Jesus."<sup>20</sup> was a review of that tract by William Cullen Bryant.<sup>21</sup> This article, although it gave some attention to the Unitarian-

19. Vol. VI, pp. 386-393. This article by William Tudor may be considered as one of that publication's more important reviews.

20. "The Precepts of Jesus" had been published in New York by B. Bates, 1825.

21. *New York Review*, Vol. I, pp. 442-453 (1825).

Trinitarian controversy, handled its religious subject in a purely non-sectarian way. In it Roy was regarded as a Hindu, not a Christian.

Although this [i.e., "The Precepts of Jesus"] is a work of religious controversy, it is not as such that we are at present to consider it. ... We were not disposed to agree with the author in all his views. ... Two things, however, we apprehend : the writer's familiarity with Western learning, and his great command of the English language. It seems to us that the labours of this extraordinary man cannot but have some favourable effect upon the destinies of Hindostan.

This article included a brief biography of Roy, based on articles in the *Monthly Repository* and the *Chronique Religieuse*, quotations from the preface of the "Precepts of Jesus," and from the articles in the *Friend of India* dealing with the Marshman controversy.

Also illustrative of the American review of Rammohun Roy as a literary figure was an article in the *Analectic Magazine* of 1820.<sup>22</sup> This included a discussion of Roy's writings in defence of Hindu theism, as well as an account of his tracts written in connection with the Unitarian controversy, thus dealing with the Hindu as well as the Christian angle of Roy's interpretation. Notwithstanding differences in points of view, stated the article, "we apprehend that an investigation of Hindu religion will not be wholly uninteresting, even to those whose practice is not to be affected by a discussion of its principles." That the writer of this article had no very high estimate of the Raja is evident from the concluding comment, which follows a discussion of Roy's activities against idolatry, and the resultant Hindu controversy :

I am at a loss to understand how the learned Brahmin could admit so dark a contradiction [i.e., in Roy's metaphysical explanation of the Godhead] into his "Lunar light of the Vedant." Rammohun Roy, teaching the unity of God on the principle of the Vedas, is indeed like a sculptor endeavoring to form a statue from a mass of coarse and crude materials, which are incapable of admitting elegance of form, or the display of excellence of workmanship. But he shows great though unavailing ingenuity in his attempts.

A second type of discussion of Rammohun Roy regarded him not from the literary or philosophic angle, but from the religious. Articles of this type were often highly argumentative, one group of writers contending that Roy was a Christian, another asserting that he was not.

Most vehement in its statements that Roy was not entitled to the name of Christian was the Baptist publication, the *Christian Watchman*. The Unitarian *Christian Register*, on the other hand, was most positive in its assertions that Roy was a Christian, and the Boston *Observer* also enlisted in his defence.

Illustrative of the belligerent attitude of the *Christian Watchman* was the article in an issue of 1820 which contended that Roy "has no more faith in the gospel than Mohammed had, and that he does not believe in the scripture as a revelation of God."<sup>23</sup> This, as well as other statements in the article tending to lower the Christian reader's opinion of Roy's character, was immediately replied to by the *Christian Register*:<sup>24</sup>

We are surprised to notice in the *Watchman* of yesterday, a very harsh and virulent attack on Rammohun Roy, denying that he is a Christian, declaring that he "has no more faith in the Gospel than Mohammed had," and that he does not believe the scriptures as a revelation from God.....Those who allow no man the name of Christian, or consider anyone a believer in Christ who does not admit into his creed the whole circle of Trinitarian and Calvinistic jargon, may well call such a man as Rammohun Roy no Christian, a disbeliever in Revelation, a fit companion of Mohammed.....The attempt to depreciate the character of Rammohun Roy is evidence with how much dread his influence is regarded as an opposer of Trinitarian and Calvinistic dogmas.

Also a defender of Roy, the Boston *Observer* nevertheless criticized him for his so-called adherence to Socinianism. A discussion of Roy in a 1835 issue of this periodical introduced its subject by stating that a "silly article" with the title "Rammohun Roy not a Unitarian,"<sup>25</sup> had been "going the rounds of the religious newspapers of this country."

Few men of such rare excellence of character have been the subject of so much calumny as this great Hindoo Reformer, on account of his adopting Unitarian sentiments. He was frequently attacked, with reckless and unprincipled acrimony during his life, as not worthy to bear the Christian name; but hardly has the grave closed over his remains, before a legion of traducers, like the devil contending with Michael

23. April 20, 1827, p. 85.

24. Vol. VI, p. 62 (April 21, 1827).

25. "Unitarian Assumptions" appeared originally in the London *Christian Observer*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 669-670 (1834)

the archangel for the body of Moses, lay claim to his possession, and deny him a place among those Christians whose principles he warmly espoused and ably defended.<sup>26</sup>

After presenting quotations from the *Christian Reformer* and summarizing the contentions of Bishop Luscombe and Bishop Low<sup>27</sup> the writer of this article concluded :

I do not urge Rammohun Roy as a model of orthodoxy—far from it ; but from this statement it is clear that he did think that the Scriptures teach what is called Socinianism . . . It appears on the very face of it [ that ] Rammohun Roy was not Trinitarian....

The writer of the *Christian Observer* laments that Rammohun Roy, while in England, was so much encircled by the Socinian body that he was most unfavourably circumstanced for the coming to a fuller knowledge, than he acquired in India, of the true character of the Christian doctrine. The ignorance betrayed in this paragraph of the whole history of Rammohun Roy while in India, both before and after his conversion to Christianity, is too palpable to set right. It can but excite a smile of contempt in every reader who knows anything of the facts.<sup>28</sup>

The argumentative reviews and comments on Rammohun Roy, especially prevalent during the period 1816-1840, are further illustrated by an article that appeared in the *Christian Disciple* of 1823,<sup>29</sup> based, as the writer stated, on a review of sixteen "publications now before us." This article presented extracts from these several publications and from the *Monthly Repository*, and a brief biography of Rammohun Roy, as well as quotations from the comment on him by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence<sup>30</sup> and Abbe Dubois.<sup>31</sup> Its own opinion the *Christian Disciple* expressed in these words :

But remarkable man as we conceive Rammohun Roy to be, we do not regard him as a monster. However eminent before his contemporaries, no man's habits of thought are formed

26. *Boston Observer*, Vol. I, p. 54 (February 12, 1835).

27. Bishop Luscombe and Bishop Low had contended that Roy was a member of the Established Church ; the *Christian Reformer* had answered this contention (Vol. I, p. 850, 1834) in an article entitled "Bishop Luscombe and Bishop Low."

28. This article shows the importance of English periodical material on Rammohun Roy. It is interesting to note that an American writer is here defending Roy against English criticism.

29. Vol. V, p. 363.

30. *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, 1817-1818.*

31. *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India.*

independently of all surrounding influences, or are radically different from those of his associates. Nay, the praise of distinguished men is for the most part that they actually perform that of which others, under similar influences, still fall a little short ...

We apprehend, then, that the works of Rammohun Roy are not to be regarded merely as trophies of the power of the uncommon individual mind. They are proof to us that, as far as insight, not evidence and the capacity of just reasoning goes, there is in the minds of his countrymen of similar rank and education, a degree of preparation for Christianity.

This article even defended Roy's sustaining of his caste, an act which laid him open to much abuse by Christians.

The extent of discussion of these two types—that is, the literary review and the argumentative discourse that appeared about Rammohun Roy in the United States, is evident from the considerable number of American periodicals that contained such material.<sup>32</sup> English periodicals, however, dealt more extensively with the Raja than did American, and it was through them, either directly or indirectly by paraphrase or verbatim copying in American journals, that discussion of Roy came before the American public.

Direct influence of English publications is seen in the case of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a journal of wide circulation in America, which in 1818 published an analytical review of the works of Rammohun Roy.<sup>33</sup> This article discussed Roy's English writings in detail, illustrating with copious excerpts and quotations, as did most literary reviews that dealt with Roy. Its attitude is evident from the following paragraph :

There is no absurdity in stating that the Hindoo who has made himself completely master of English literature, cannot possibly be a slave to the more disgusting or absurd parts of his native superstitions . . . . We should have embraced the present opportunity of entering more in detail into the merits of this eminent man's performance, but we have deferred doing so, because we hope ere long to have more of them in our possession. . . . . May his success be such as he deserves.

32. Some twenty-five are listed in Section II of this study. See "Periodicals containing material concerning Rammohun Roy," pages 90-121 *supra*.

33. Vol. IV, 141-148 (November, 1818).

Typical of the type of controversial article that originated in England and was reprinted in America, is that entitled "Rammohun Roy," contained in the December 1833 issue of American periodical, the *Select Journal*.<sup>34</sup> This article quoted from several English publications, such as the *Asiatic Journal*; the *Athenaeum* of October 5, 1833, with its article by Sandford Arnot; the *Court Journal* of the same year, with its biography of Roy by Montgomery Robert Martin;<sup>35</sup> and the *Bristol Gazette* with its biography by Dr. Lant Carpenter.<sup>36</sup> The writer of the American article, however, took issue with certain statements made by these English authors; particularly did he disagree with the statement made by Sandford Arnot, that to show that Roy himself "was a Unitarian, or a Christian, in any particular form, would require a distinct species of evidence, which his works do not furnish....." "What is implied," stated the American writer, "is affirmed broadly and offensively in the article in the *Court Journal*":

It is quite ridiculous, it is said, to witness the audacity with which the Unitarians and Trinitarians in England contend for the honour of this highly gifted man, having renounced the idolatry of his countrymen for their sect. The fact is, Rammohun Roy was a Lutheran with the churchmen, a Unitarian with Dr. Carpenter, a follower of Moses and the Prophet with the Jews, a pure Hindoo, or rather a Buddhist with a few of his countrymen, and a good Mussulman with the disciples of Mohnimmet. . . . He had no faith in creeds, and having renounced the adoration of a million Deities in Hindooism, because contrary to reason, he was not likely to be a believer in the Trinity, the doctrines of which are inscrutable to mortal reason. His Deism was at times what some might term pure; latterly he became lost in ideas of the future, the transmigration of the soul.

"All this," wrote the editor in his personal comment, "we believe to be incorrect."

The question whether Rammohun Roy were a Christian, in the proper sense of the word, we do not regard as one of much interest, and we rejoice that it may be considered as settled by the evidence of Dr. Carpenter's addresses in his pamphlets,

If a man's influence is at all commensurate with the esteem in which he is held, one can safely say that Rammohun Roy helped color American thought. Though he was the target for much adverse criticism on the part of

34. Vol. II, pp. 91-103 (December, 1833).

35. Vol. V, p. 678 (October 5, 1833).

36. October, 2, 1833.

Americans and Englishmen who did not understand him, it is interesting to note that not once was his character, defamed. What defamation there was, fell upon those who took it upon themselves to interpret the man and his ideas, as in the instance of the wrangling between the Baptists and the Unitarians.

Typical of the attitude towards Roy among his sympathizers is that expressed by the *Christian Register*, shortly after the Raja's death :

The name and writings of this distinguished man are familiar to our readers, his religious works, written in English, having been republished in this country. A "tower of strength" in the cause of Christianity, Rammohun Roy regarded our country with peculiar interest and received Americans who sought his acquaintance with strong expressions of pleasure. Those who have enjoyed the privilege of seeing him, speak of him in the warmest terms of admiration, as being in person, manners, and conversation, the very ideal which the imagination would form of him. It was his intention to have visited us in the spring, and many were already indulging in delightful anticipation of seeing and conversing with the man who, though removed from us by half the globe, was yet bound to us by such strong ties of sympathy and opinion.

Everything was reasonably to be hoped from the influence of such a mind on the millions of his Hindoo brethren, and had he lived some years longer the moral and religious aspect of the whole peninsula of India might have been changed.<sup>37</sup>

Surely a man, who could command such high esteem as these words indicate, could not have been without influence upon his readers !

But Rammohun Roy is of significance not only as an individual, but also as a representative of the Oriental world. The large part played by Oriental thought in determining the direction of periodical material in the western world between the years 1816-1840 cannot but be evident from the bibliographical material thus far presented in this study. And only the interest of the reading public could have induced the editors to continue offering it.

This interest in Orientalism has a certain relationship to the American mental and spiritual outlook of the time. In the early years of the nineteenth century there had been a longing for a larger life. This had led to Unitarianism which took on organized form about the year 1815. But the extreme Lockian rationalism of the Unitarian

37. Vol. XII, p. 183 (November 16, 1883).

doctrine, which was "like a formal English garden with its straight walks and clipped hedges," caused a "revulsion against the intellect as the sole source of truth,"<sup>38</sup> and this feeling of dissatisfaction resulted in the movement of Transcendentalism, with Ralph Waldo Emerson as its outstanding figure.

Transcendentalism may be said to have blossomed soon after the demise of Rammohun Roy (1833), but for some years previous the aspiring idealists, who later composed the so-called Transcendental group, were in a state of receptivity, either consciously or unconsciously, to transcendental doctrine. That Rammohun Roy was directly influential in the formulation of the Transcendental theories prevalent in New England at the time of Emerson is not here maintained, but it is pointed out that Roy might have been such an influence, and that he probably was. It is certain, at all events, that he was not unknown to the Transcendentalists; his ideas were as familiar to them as was the Unitarianism which constituted the back-ground of practically every member of the group.<sup>39</sup>

That Ralph Waldo Emerson, during his Harvard days, knew of Rammohun Roy is evident from his letter addressed to his aunt Mary Moody Emerson, in which he wrote :

I know not any more about your Hindu convert than I have seen in the *Christian Register*, and am truly rejoiced that the Unitarians have one trophy to build upon the plain where the zealous Trinitarians have builded thousands.<sup>40</sup>

38. Woodbridge Riley, *American Thought*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1915 p. 141.

39. C. L. F. Gohdis, *Periodicals of American Transcendentalism*, p. 9, states : "Although contemporaries of the movement were not able to say what Transcendentalism was, they knew who the Transcendentalists were.... Of the exponents of Transcendentalism in the narrow sense, only those who were actually regarded by their contemporaries as such ought to be mentioned. These, of course, were practically all Unitarians at one time or another." James Murdock, *Sketches of Modern Philosophy especially among the Germans*, Edinburgh, 1843, further stresses the connection of Transcendentalism with Unitarianism, as does also G. W. Cooke in his *Unitarianism in America*, Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1902. Mr. Cooke believes that Emerson's doctrines are the logical fulfilment of early Unitarianism.

40. Dated June 10, 1822. J. E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Emerson*, Vol. I, pp. 80-81.

These words, though not showing any great personal interest in Roy on Emerson's part, do show that he read the *Christian Register*, as, in all probability, did all the other future Transcendentalists in their Unitarian homes. And in reading this periodical, Emerson was subject to the influence of the richest and most consistent collection of Rammohun Roy material in America. Furthermore, if he continued to read the *Register*, as he probably did, at least until about 1830, when he broke his connection with Unitarianism, no one could have been better informed concerning this great Hindu. Directly, or indirectly through Mary Moody Emerson, the *Christian Register* may have been Emerson's first source of contact with Oriental thought, and Rammohun Roy, his first inter-agent.

Then, too, Emerson's student days at Harvard place him among those men in America who were most interested in Rammohun Roy and his doctrines. From 1829 to 1831 Emerson acted in the capacity of assistant pastor in the church of the Reverend Henry Ware, one of Roy's strongest advocates in America; surely through this contact, Emerson must have become familiar with the ideas and personality of Roy.

Because the Transcendentalists were interested in Orientalism, and because Rammohun Roy was interested in Christianity, the chasm between the Orient and the Occident, as personified in New England, was not as great as it might otherwise have been. To the extent that Rammohun Roy was responsible for the interest in the Orient, amongst Americans in general, and amongst New Englanders in particular, to that extent was he an instrument for the formation of the ideas of Emerson and his associates, with their love of Oriental literature, philosophy, and religion.

That information concerning Rammohun Roy entered the United States largely through religious channels may seem, on first consideration, to have minimized his influence and resulted in giving the public but an incomplete representation of him. As a matter of fact, however, this restriction was by no means wholly detrimental. In the first half of the nineteenth century, religion and religious controversy were front page news. Indeed, it was not unusual for articles dealing with Roy, often extending over several columns, to be the news of greatest importance in the paper and to occupy the correspondingly most important place.<sup>41</sup>

41. For example, see the *Christian Register*, December, 1821; May 10, 1822; August 30, 1822; May 14, 1824; also the *Salem Courier*, November 5, 1828, which devoted five columns to Rammohun Roy, covering the entire front page and

The fact that Rammchun Roy was definitely allied, in the American mind, with Unitarian Christianity, helped in bringing him into prominence. It made him of interest particularly in New England and to future Transcendentalists, but also to Americans in general, for Unitarianism was a point of great contention at the time and received much publicity, favorable and unfavorable. Had Roy not been plunged into religious controversy, he might have remained comparatively unknown, save to a few scholars. Until the advent of Roy, the Orient had seemed far removed and impersonal to American thought. But with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West, a realization that in spite of distance and difference, the Indian, as personified in Rammohun Roy, was close kin to his American brother.<sup>42</sup>

It is certain that Rammohun Roy was not a Christian in the orthodox sense. Rather, he belonged to a universal church based on comparative religious principles. He was a Christian in so far as Unitarian Christianity contained the primary tenets underlying all faiths. The teachings of Jesus he preferred to all other ethical laws or standards, because he felt that they best expressed the great universal principles of religion. But after he became involved in petty religious disputes, after he had had the opportunity of seeing how ineffectual the ethics and, morals of the Christian religion were in western society, he turned from organized Christianity. In his dissatisfaction he formed his own religious organization, the Brahmo Samaj.

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a column of the second. For further record of front page articles, see such notations under the various entries in the periodical bibliography, pages 90-121 *supra*.

42. This feeling of kinship is exemplified by a pamphlet included among "Tracts on Slavery" in the Boston Public Library. The pamphlet (the title page of which is missing) is apparently a copy of an address to the United States Congress against slavery and must have been delivered before the death of Rammohun Roy. It is here significant because the author, assuming the name of Rammohun Roy, paid the Hindu the highest compliment that he could be paid in America. The pertinent passages, which also show the familiarity of American readers with the Hindu, are as follows :

"....May no rule of equity, may no lust of power, that it is revolting to an undraped mind either to exert or to endure, tempt us also to destruction, and convert the garden of the union into a field of blood !

"In closing this address, allow me to assume the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man, Rammohun Roy."

If Rammohun Roy was influential during the generation after his death, it was Rammohun Roy the Hindu, shorn of Christian embellishments, who lived on. For a second time the chasm between the Orient and the Occident was effectively bridged. Both Rammohun Roy and the Transcendentalists, because they felt the barrenness and impotence of the utilitarian philosophy, turned from unitarian Christianity ;<sup>43</sup> their beliefs became identical in substance, like two waves that surge toward the shore, one behind the other, and become one as they reach the sands of time.

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43. O. B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*, New York, G. P. Putnam, 1876, 383 pp. See chapter entitled "Religion."

**PART IV**  
**GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS. PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES\*

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[Adam William, as editor, *Unitarian Repository* and *Christian Miscellany*, Calcutta, 1823-1824 :—]

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\* For more complete list of articles, see sections dealing with periodicals, pages 53-122 *supra*.

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